

A NEW EDITION, ENLARGED.

THE
FLOWERS
OF
MODERN HISTORY.

COMPREHENDING,
ON A NEW PLAN,
THE MOST REMARKABLE REVOLUTIONS AND
EVENTS, AS WELL AS THE MOST EMINENT
AND ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTERS, OF MODERN
TIMES;

WITH A VIEW OF THE
PROGRESS OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS,
ARTS AND SCIENCES,

FROM THE
IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHS AND VANDALS, AND
OTHER NORTHERN NATIONS, UPON THE ROMAN
EMPIRE,

TO THE
CONCLUSION OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

DESIGNED FOR THE
IMPROVEMENT and ENTERTAINMENT
OF
YOUTH.

By the Rev. JOHN ADAMS, A.M.

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.
HOR.

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NEW EDITION
 J. O. W. R.
 ADVERTISING

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is the business of an able Historian to exhibit manners, as well as facts and events; for certainly whatever displays the state and life of mankind, in different periods, and illustrates the progress of the human mind, is more useful and interesting, than the detail of sieges and battles: To engage my Readers to the study of History, written upon this plan, is the design of the following Performance. It is a Compilation from the most celebrated Historians; such as Hume, Robertson, Goldsmith, Guthrie; and Russel, Author of the History of Modern Europe, a late publication of very great merit.

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THE
FLOWERS
OF
MODERN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM THE DEATH OF
AUGUSTUS, TO THE IRRUPTION OF THE BAR-
BARIANS.

ROME, from the time of Augustus, became the most despotic empire that ever subsisted in Europe. To form an idea of their government, we need only recal to our mind the situation of Turkey at present. It is of no importance therefore to consider the character of the Emperors, since they had no power but what arose from a mercenary standing army; nor to enter into a detail with regard to the transactions of the court, which were directed by
B that

that caprice, cruelty, and corruption which universally prevail under a despotic government.

When it is said that the Roman republic conquered the world, it is only meant of the civilised part of it, chiefly of Greece, Carthage, and Asia. A more difficult task still remained for the emperors, to subdue the barbarous nations of Europe, the Germans, the Gauls, the Britons, and even the remote corner of Scotland; for though these countries had been discovered, they were not effectually subdued by the Roman generals. These nations, though rude and ignorant, were brave and independent. It was rather from the superiority of their discipline, than of their courage, that the Romans gained any advantage over them. The Roman wars with the Germans, are described by Tacitus; and from his accounts, though a Roman, it is easy to discover with what bravery they fought, and with what reluctance they submitted to a foreign yoke. From the obstinate resistance of the Germans, we may judge of the difficulties the Romans met with in subduing the other nations of Europe. The contests were on both sides bloody; the countries of Europe were successively laid waste; the inhabitants perished in the field; many were carried into slavery, and but a feeble remnant submitted to the Roman power. This situation of affairs was extremely unfavourable to the happiness of mankind. The barbarous nations, indeed, from their intercourse with the Romans, acquired some taste for the arts, sciences, language, and manners of their new masters. These, however, were but miserable consolations for the loss of liberty, for being deprived of the use of their arms, for being over-awed by mercenary soldiers kept in pay to restrain them, and for being delivered over to rapacious governors, who plundered them without mercy. The only circumstance which could support them under these

these complicated calamities, was the hope of seeing better days.

CH A P. II.

OF THE IRRUPTION OF THE GOTHs AND VANDALS, AND OTHER BARBARIANS.

THE Roman empire, now stretched out to such an extent, had lost its spring and force. It contained within itself the seeds of dissolution; and the violent irruption of the Goths and Vandals, and other Barbarians, hastened its destruction. These fierce tribes, who came to take vengeance on the empire, either inhabited the various provinces of Germany, which had never been subdued by the Romans, or were scattered over the vast countries of the north of Europe, and north-west of Asia, which are now inhabited by the Danes, the Swedes, the Poles, the subjects of the Russian empire, and the Tartars. They were drawn from their native country by that restlessness, which actuates the minds of the Barbarians, and makes them rove from home in quest of plunder or new settlements.

The first invaders met with a powerful resistance from the superior discipline of the Roman legions; but this, instead of daunting men of a strong and impetuous temper, only roused them to vengeance. They return to their companions, acquaint them with the unknown conveniences and luxuries that abounded in countries better cultivated, or blessed with a milder climate than their own; they acquaint them with the battles they had fought, of the friends

they had lost, and warm them with resentment against their opponents. Great bodies of armed men (says an elegant historian, in describing this scene of desolation) with their wives and children, and slaves and flocks, issued forth, like regular colonies, in quest of new settlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deserted were occupied by more remote tribes of Barbarians. These in their turn pushed forward into more fertile countries, and, like a torrent continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them. Wherever the Barbarians marched, their route was marked with blood: They ravaged or destroyed all around them: They made no distinction between what was sacred, and what was profane; They respected no age, nor sex, nor rank. If a man was called upon to fix upon the period, in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great, A. D. 395, to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, A. D. 571. The contemporary authors, who beheld that scene of desolation, labour, and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. "The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations," are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders.

C H A P. III.

OF THE SEPARATION OF THE WESTERN AND
EASTERN PROVINCES.

CONSTANTINE, who was Emperor about the beginning of the fourth century, and who had embraced Christianity, changed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople. This occasioned a prodigious alteration. The western and eastern provinces were separated from each other, and governed by different sovereigns. The withdrawing the Roman legions from the Rhine and the Danube, to the east, threw down the western barriers of the empire, and laid it open to the invaders.

Rome (now known by the name of the Western Empire in contradistinction to Constantinople, which, from its situation, was called the Eastern Empire) weakened by this division, becomes a prey to the barbarous nations. Its ancient glory, vainly deemed immortal, is effaced, and Odoacer, a Barbarian chieftain, is seated on the throne of the Cæsars. These irruptions into the empire were gradual and successive. The immense fabric of the Roman empire was the work of many ages, and several centuries were employed in demolishing it. The ancient discipline of the Romans in military affairs, was so efficacious, that the remains of it descended to their successors, and must have proved an overmatch for all their enemies, had it not been for the vices of their Emperors, and the universal corruption of manners among the people. Satiated with the luxuries of the known world the Emperors were at a loss to find new provocatives. The most distant regions were explored, the ingenuity

of mankind was exercised, and the tribute of provinces expended upon one favourite dish. The tyranny, and the universal depravation of manners, which prevailed under the Emperors, or, as they are called, Cæsars, could only be equalled by the barbarity of those nations who overcame them.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons, a German nation, were masters of the southern, and more fertile provinces of Britain; the Franks, another tribe of Germans, of Gaul; the Goths, of Spain; The Goths and Lombards, of Italy and the adjacent provinces. Scarcely any vestige of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, arts, or literature, remained. New forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries, were every where introduced.

How far this change is to be lamented, may be matter of much dispute. The human species was reduced to such a degree of debasement by the pressure of Roman despotism, that we can hardly be sorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lamenting at the same time, that this revolution was the work of nations so little enlightened by science, or polished by civilization; for the Roman laws, though somewhat corrupted, were yet, in general, the best that human wisdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined, were still superior to any thing found among rude nations, or which those who spurned them produced for many ages.

The contempt of the Barbarians for the Roman improvements, is not wholly, however, to be ascribed to their ignorance, nor the suddenness of the revolution, to their desolating fury. The manners of the conquered must come in for a share. Had not the Romans been in the lowest state of national degeneracy,

generacy, they might surely have civilized their conquerors. Had they retained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws. Many of the northern leaders were men of great abilities, and several of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans; but they were justly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example, and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful or otherwise.

They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the stately building, and burying in its ruins the finest works of human invention: they ate out of vessels of wood, and made the vanquished be served in vessels of silver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expensive pleasure-ground, where effeminacy was wont to saunter, or indolence to loll; and they pastured their herds, where they might have raised a luxurious harvest.

They prohibited their children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; because they not unplausibly, though somewhat falsely, concluded from the dastardliness of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue, will never dare to meet a sword with an undaunted eye.

Upon the same principle, they rejected the Roman jurisprudence. It reserved nothing to the vengeance of man. They therefore not unphilosophically thought, it must rob him of his active powers; nor could they conceive how the person injured could be satisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injustice. Hence all those judicial combats, and private wars, which, for many ages, desolated Europe.

CHAP. IV.

OF MAHOMET.

THE character of Mahomet forms a very singular phenomenon in the history of mankind. He was a native of Mecca, a city of that division of Arabia, which for the luxuriance of its soil, and happy temperature of its climate, has ever been esteemed the loveliest and sweetest region in the world, and is distinguished by the epithet of Happy.

He was born in the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian XI, Emperor of Constantinople. Though descended of mean parentage, illiterate, and poor, Mahomet was endowed with a subtle genius, like those of the same country, and possessed a degree of enterprize and ambition, peculiar to himself, and much beyond his condition. He had been employed in the early part of his life by an uncle, Abuteleb, as a factor, and had occasion, in this capacity, to travel into Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He was afterwards taken into the service of a rich merchant, upon whose death he married his widow, Cadiga, and, by her means, came to be possessed of great wealth, and of a numerous family.

During his peregrinations into Egypt and the East, he had observed the vast variety of sects in religion, whose hatred against each other was strong and inveterate, while, at the same time, there were many particulars, in which the greater part of them were agreed. He carefully laid hold of these particulars, by means of which, and by addressing himself to the love of power, riches, and pleasure, passions universal among them, he expected to raise
a new

a new system of religion, more general than any which had been hitherto established. In this design he was assisted by a Sergian monk, whose libertine disposition had made him forsake his cloister and profession, and engage in the service of Cadiga, with whom he remained as a domestic, when Mahomet was taken to her bed. This monk was perfectly qualified, by his learning, for supplying the defects which his master, for want of a liberal education, laboured under, and which, in all probability, must have obstructed the execution of his design. It was necessary, however, that the religion they proposed to establish, should have a divine sanction; and for this purpose, Mahomet turned a calamity, with which he was afflicted, to his advantage. He was often subject to fits of the epilepsy, a disease which those whom it afflicts, are desirous to conceal. Mahomet gave out, therefore, that these fits were trances, into which he was miraculously thrown by God Almighty, and during which he was instructed in his will, which he was commanded to publish to the world. By this strange story, and by leading a retired, abstemious, and austere life, easily acquired a character for superior sanctity among his acquaintance and neighbours.

CHAP. V.

OF THE DOCTRINES TAUGHT BY MAHOMET.

WHEN Mahomet thought himself sufficiently fortified, by the numbers and the enthusiasm of his followers, he boldly declared himself a prophet, sent

by God into the world, not only to teach his will, but to compel mankind to obey it. As we have already mentioned, he did not lay the foundation of his system so narrow, as only to comprehend the natives of his own country. His mind, though rude and enthusiastic, was enlarged by travelling into distant lands, whose manners and religion he had made a peculiar study. He proposed that the system he established should extend over all the neighbouring nations, to whose doctrines and prejudices he had taken care to adapt it.

Many of the inhabitants of the eastern countries were at this time much addicted to the opinions of Arius, who denied that Jesus Christ was co-equal with God the Father, as is declared in the Athanasian creed.

Egypt and Arabia were filled with Jews, who had fled into these corners of the world, from the persecution of the Emperor Adrian, who threatened the total extinction of that people.

The other inhabitants of these countries were Pagans. These however, had little attachment to their decayed and derided idolatry; and, like men whose religious principle is weak, had given themselves over to pleasure and sensuality, or to the acquisition of riches, in order to be the better able to indulge in the gratifications of sense, which, together with the doctrine of predestination, composed the sole principles of their religion and philosophy.

Mahomet's system was exactly suited to these three kinds of men. To gratify the two former, he declared that there was one God, who created the world, and governed all things in it; that he had sent various prophets into the world to teach his will to mankind, among whom Moses and Jesus were the most eminent; but the endeavours of these had proved ineffectual, and God had therefore now sent his
last

last and greatest prophet, with a commission more ample than what Moses or Christ had been entrusted with. He had commanded him not only to publish his laws, but to subdue those who were unwilling to believe or obey them; and, for this end, to establish a kingdom upon earth, which should propagate the divine law throughout the world; that God had designed utter ruin and destruction to those who should refuse to submit to him; but, to his faithful followers, had given the spoils and possessions of all the earth, as a reward in this life, and had provided them hereafter a paradise of all sensual enjoyments, especially those of love; that the pleasures of such as died in propagating the faith, would be peculiarly intense, and vastly transcend those of the rest. These, together with the prohibition of drinking strong liquors (a restraint not very severe in warm climates) and the doctrine of predestination, were the capital articles of Mahomet's creed.

CH A P. VI.

OF THE SUCCESS OF MAHOMETANISM.

THE articles of the Mahometan religion were no sooner published, than great numbers of the prophet's countrymen embraced them with implicit faith. They were written by the priest we formerly mentioned, and compose a book called the Koran, or Alcoran, by way of eminence, as we say the Bible, which means The Book. The person of Mahomet, however, was familiar to the inhabitants of Mecca; so that the greater part of them were sufficiently

convinced of the deceit. The more enlightened and leading men entered into a design to cut him off; but Mahomet, getting notice of their intention, fled from his native city to Medina. The fame of his miracles and doctrine was, according to custom, greatest at a distance, and the inhabitants of Medina received him with open arms. From this flight, which happened in the six hundred and twenty-second year of Christ, the forty-fourth year of Mahomet's age, and the tenth of his ministry, his followers, the Mahometans, compute their time, and the æra is called, in Arabic, Hegira; that is, the Flight.

Mahomet, by the assistance of the inhabitants of Medina, and of others, whom his insinuation and address daily attached to him, brought over all his countrymen to a belief, or at least to an acquiescence in his doctrines. The speedy propagation of his system among the Arabians, was a new argument in its behalf among the inhabitants of Egypt and the east, who were previously disposed to it. Arians, Jews, and Gentiles, all forsook their ancient faith, and became Mahometans. In a word, the contagion spread over Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia; and Mahomet, from a deceitful hypocrite, became the most powerful monarch in his time. He died in the year of Christ 629, leaving two branches of his race, both esteemed divine among his subjects. These were the caliphs of Persia and Egypt, under the last of which Arabia was included. The former of these turned their arms to the east, and made conquests of many countries. The caliphs of Egypt and Arabia directed their ravages towards Europe, and under the name of Saracens or Moors (which they obtained, because they entered Europe from Mauritania, in Africa, the country of the Moors) reduced most of Spain, France, Italy, and the islands in the Mediterranean.

In this manner did the successors of that impostor spread their religion and conquests over the greatest part of Asia, Africa, and Europe; and they still give law to a very considerable part of mankind.

CH A P. VII.

OF CHARLEMAGNE.

THE first Christian monarch of the Franks, according to the best French historians, was Clovis, who began his reign in the year of our Saviour 468, from which period the French history exhibits a series of great events; and we find them generally engaged in domestic broils, or in foreign wars.

In the year 800, Charlemagne, king of France, who was the glory of those dark ages, became master of Germany, Spain, and part of Italy, and was crowned king of the Romans by the pope. He divided his empire by will among his sons, which proved fatal to his family and posterity.

Charlemagne is worthy of the highest admiration, whether we consider his abilities, his great actions, his extensive views, his incredible activity, the wisdom of his government, or even his virtues. Though he was engaged in many wars, he was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happiness of his subjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his constant study. He frequently convened the national assemblies, for regulating affair both of church and state. His attention extended to the most distant corner of his empire

empire, and to all ranks of men. He established the excellent custom of sending into the provinces commissioners to examine the conduct of the dukes by whom they were governed, and the counts who were vested with the judicial power; to receive complaints, to check oppressions, and to maintain good order. These royal envoys paid their visits every three months, and frequently made their appearance at Rome, where their authority awed even the popes.

As the clergy were the only men who had any tincture of knowledge, it is not to be wondered, that they were continually loaded with favours by a prince, who was a friend to learning, as well as to religion. He employed the bishops in all affairs, associated them with the counts in the administration of justice, and, in conjunction with them and the lords, composed his book of civil and canonical laws; which, however, it must be acknowledged, are too numerous, and contain abuses mixed with good laws. He established the tithes, in lieu of the lands detained from the church; an impost which was long a source of murmurs.

But, on the other hand, he prohibited the bishops from bearing arms, enjoining them to apply to study, and confine themselves to their proper vocation. In a word, he endeavoured to restore ecclesiastical discipline to its vigour; and his want of success was the strongest demonstration, that the evil was incurable. The submission of the clergy to his orders, was no less a proof of his skill in the science of government.

If Charlemagne, like the Greek Emperors, valued himself on his skill in theology, at least his genius was not confined within the narrow circle of vain subtleties, but aspired to the great and useful in every species. He created a naval force, in order to oppose the incursions of the Normans, a formidable and piratical nation, who already insulted the kingdom, and ravaged it after his death. He attempted to join the
ocean

ocean with the Black Sea by a canal of communication between the Rhine and the Danube. How advantageous might this work have been for trade ! But, at that time, France could furnish no man of sufficient capacity to put it in execution.

This great prince was no less amiable in private life, than illustrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. His house was a model of oeconomy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur. "For shame !" said he to some of his nobles, who where finner dressed than the occasion required, "learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave silks and finery to women ; or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for show, not use." On such occasions he appeared himself in imperial magnificence, and freely indulge in every luxury ; but in general, his dress was plain, and his table frugal.

Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his usual residence, in the seventy first year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire seemed to die with him. To govern such an extent of territory required a genius equal to that monarch's.

C H AP. VIII.

ANECDOTE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

SEVERAL boys had their education at the great school in Paris by particular warrant from Charlemagne. This prince returning into France after a long absence, ordered those children to be brought to him to produce prose and verse compositions. It appeared that the performances of those of a middling and obscure class greatly excelled those of higher birth; on which that wise prince, in imitation of the Supreme Judge, separating the diligent from the remiss, and causing the former to be placed at his right, thus addressed them: "Beloved children, as you have sedulously applied yourselves to answer the end of my putting you to school, and have made proficiency in such studies as will be useful to you in the course of your life, you may be assured of my favour and good-will; go on, exert your genius, carry your improvements to the highest pitch, and I will ever have a value for you, and reward you with bishoprics and abbeys." Then turning to the left, with a stern countenance and contemptuous accent, he spoke, "As for you idlers of noble blood, unworthy children of the most eminent families in my kingdom, male-lilies, delicate puppets, taken up with beautifying yourselves, because titles and lands will fall to your share, you, forsooth, have made no account of my orders; and instead of walking on the path to true honour and minding your studies, you have
given

given yourselves up to play and idleness; I swear by the King of heaven, that all your nobility, and girlish pretty faces and fine cloaths, are of no weight with me; and depend on it, unless you turn over a new leaf, and by unwearied diligence recover your lost time, you are never to expect any thing from Charles."

CH A P. IX.

OF THE SCOTS AND PICTS,

MUCH time has been spent in enquiring whence the Scots and Picts emigrated, and many disputes have arisen on the subject. The most probable opinion, however, seems to be, that they were two tribes of the native Britons, who, at different times, had fled from the dominion of the Romans, chusing liberty and barren mountains, rather than fertile plains and slavery; yet some plausible conjectures have been offered to prove, that the Scots were a colony from Ireland, though of the same Celtic origin. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been a brave and warlike people, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an over-match for the effeminate and dispirited Britons. The Britons, indeed, were a very singular instance of the debasing effects of despotism. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than our ancient countrymen. With ordinary weapons, and little knowledge of military discipline, they struggled long with the Roman power, and were only subdued at last by reason of their want of union.

But

But after a period of subjection, when the exigencies of the empire obliged the Romans to recall their legions from this island, and resign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conscious of their inability to protect themselves, and wanting resolution to attempt it, they would gladly have lived in security and slavery. They had therefore recourse, again and again, to their conquerors; and the Romans, before they finally abandoned the island, assisted the Britons in rebuilding the wall of Severus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde, and was esteemed by the Romans a necessary barrier, first against the Caledonians, and afterwards against the Scots and Picts.

CHAP. X.

OF THE INCURSIONS OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS INTO FRANCE.

THE name of Normans, or men of the North, was given to the inhabitants of ancient Scandinavia, or the present kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. From those countries originated several German nations, which settled in the Roman Empire. These tribes preserved the Celtic manners, which were the same as the Scythian, simple, hardy, ferocious, and calculated for making them dreadful conquerors. Their religion corresponded with their manners. Their supreme god was Oden. Human victims were sacrificed to him. His rewards were believed to be reserved for those who slew the great-
est

est number of warriors in battle. The happiness to which they aspired, was to intoxicate themselves with beer in his hall. The skulls of their slain enemies were the precious cups which were to be used in their infernal carousals.

How was it possible for innumerable nations to transform the Father of Nature, the infinitely good Being, into a sanguinary and destroying tyrant? The reason is, that men, immersed in ignorance, form a divinity according to their own taste, and ascribe to him the same passions with themselves. If any of these barbarians reasoned, he must inevitably plunge into Atheism, as he could not but reject monstrous opinions, and had no idea of a pure and infinite spirit.

The grand principle of the Celtæ, particularly the Scandinavians, was, that force made the foundation of right, and that victory was a proof of justice. They referred every thing to war, by the spirit of which they were solely animated, and hastened from one expedition to another, in order to amass booty.

Fatigues, wounds, and arms, were in some measure, sports of their infancy and youth. Even the name of fear was prohibited to be mentioned in the most dreadful dangers. The women, as well as the men, despised death; to which they not only submitted with intrepidity, but frequently affected to meet it with marks of joy.

Charlemagne prevented the irruptions of these northern tribes, by establishing a naval force, which guarded the mouths of the rivers. Under Louis Debonnaire they spread an alarm in France; and under Charles the Bald, committed dreadful ravages. Their fleets, which consisted of small light vessels, braved the storms of the ocean, and penetrated into every quarter. They laid waste the coasts, and made their way into the heart of the provinces; nor was

it

it possible to stop their progress. The government was incapable of taking any precaution, and the people having no protector, sunk under their fears. The steps of those robbers were every where marked with blood and fire. They twice pillaged Rouen, surprised and burnt Paris in 845, laid waste Aquitaine and other provinces with fire and sword, and reduced the king to the last extremities.

CH A P. XI.

ALFRED THE GREAT DEFETAS THE DANES.

IF England felt the same scourge with France, she found a saviour in a great prince. Under Ethelwolf, successor of Egbert, the Danes committed many ravages, because the king neglected the cares of government. Three of his sons reigned after him, in a manner equally inglorious. But happily, their younger brother Alfred mounted the throne in 871; a man who seemed a prodigy in that age of horrors. He constantly kept an army on foot against the Danes, and had gained several victories over them. But new swarms of pirates coming incessantly to join the former, his troops were discouraged, and abandoned him. He was therefore obliged to disguise himself like a peasant, and to live for some months in the house of a shepherd, after which he fortified himself in a morass, and from thence made incursions on the enemy, watching an opportunity to vanquish them.

Being at last informed that an English nobleman had beaten the Danes in a rencounter, he quitted his retreat,

retreat, dressed himself like a poor fidler, entered their camp with security, amused and deceived them, examined every part of it, was witness to their neglect of discipline and blind confidence, formed the plan of an attack, and withdrew to put it in execution. Soon after, he gave notice where he was, and assembled his best subjects, who thought that he was dead. Multitudes flocked to his standard; and having defeated the Danes he formed a scheme to convert them into subjects. With this view he gave them permission to settle in Northumberland, (which had been reduced to a desert) on condition that they embraced Christianity. This mild policy seemed the best that could be pursued in his circumstances. The savage manners of the pirates might be softened by the practice of agriculture, and the influence of religion. They might become the defenders of a state, where they had a fixed settlement, and would naturally love and respect a beneficent monarch, who had made them sensible of his valour and his resources. All the conditions were complied with, and England at last, had time to breathe.

CHAP. XII.

ALFRED ENCOURAGES AND CULTIVATES LEARNING.

AS knowledge, which enlightens the reason, in order to form the manners, appeared to him one of the most proper means for making his subjects happy, he drew learned men to his court, established schools, founded the famous university of Oxford, and constantly

stantly rewarded merit. He encouraged application to learning by his own example, and wrote a treatise of morality. Neither arts, agriculture, nor commerce ; in short, nothing escaped the zeal by which he was animated ; and he scattered, on every side, the seeds of happiness and virtue. Unhappily, too many obstacles prevented them from taking root, and they were almost entirely destroyed under the following reigns.

C H A P. XIII.

THE CHARACTER OF ALFRED.

THE merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may, with advantage, be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age or nation can present to us. He seems, indeed, to be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, the philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever seeing it reduced to practice. So happily were all his virtues tempered together ; so justly were they blended, and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper bounds. He knew how to conciliate the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation ; the most obstinate perseverance, with the easiest flexibility ; the most severe justice, with the greatest lenity ; the greatest vigour in command, with the greatest affability of deportment ; the highest capacity and inclination for science, with the most shining talents for action. His

His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former being more rare among princes, as well as more useful, seem chiefly to challenge our applause.

Nature also, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, and a pleasant, engaging, and open countenance.

Fortune alone, by throwing him into that barbarous age, deprived him of historians worthy to transmit his fame to posterity; and we wish to see him delineated in more lively colours, and with more particular strokes, that we may at least perceive some of those small specks and blemishes, from which, as a man, it is impossible he could be entirely exempted.

CH A P. XIV.

OF CANUTE.

THE Danes had contended for the crown of England upwards of 200 years, in which time were fought fifty-four battles by land, and thirty-eight by sea, besides skirmishes and sieges, attended with the loss of an infinite number of men; yet they possessed it only four years, under three monarchs, the most famous of whom was Canute the Great.

Canute succeeded to the throne in the year 1017. He soon ingratiated himself with his new subjects: by rebuilding their cities, churches, and abbey, by lessening their taxes, and by entrusting them with the highest offices, and even with the command of his armies,
he

he won the hearts of the English, by whose assistance he obliged the king of Scotland to pay him tribute, and conquered Norway.

Towards the latter end of his life, he became humble and truly pious. As he was one day standing on the sea-shore, a flatterer in his train told him, that he was king both of earth and sea. Upon which, sitting down, he ordered the tide not to wet his feet, nor proceed any farther; but having staid there till the water surrounded him, he turned to the flatterer, and said, "See here, how vain is earthly grandeur, and how weak all human force! God alone is king of the land, and of the sea; Him let us worship and adore."

CHAP. XV.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, AND TASTE, IN BRITAIN.

IF we look back to the beginnings of nations, we shall find them to have been in a state of ignorance and barbarity, and that they continued a long time in that condition. Nor indeed, could it, from the nature of things, be otherwise; unless countries should happen to be peopled by large colonies, from societies that have already arrived to a considerable perfection of knowledge and government, which could not possibly be the case in early periods. The persons who originally settled in these remoter parts of Europe, being rude and unpolished themselves, were able to carry nothing along with them but their own savage manners, and their own gross conceptions.

The first inhabitants of an uncultivated region, are generally such as the want of provisions hath urged to seek for new dwellings, or such as have been expelled from their possessions by powerful invaders; and their prime object is to secure a bare subsistence: so that they have neither inclination nor leisure to pursue any other concern. What they immediately apply to, is hunting; and while they remain few in number, this will be the only way of life in which they engage, a way of life that leaves no room for mental improvements. The next stage is pasturage, which, conducted in the rambling manner of ancient times, affords little scope for the progress of knowledge. Then succeeds agriculture, which brings on a more civilized state of society, though very distant from considerable advancements. The last step is regulated government, large cities, and extended commerce. Even these must have flourished for a period; plenty and riches must have taken place; there must be a certain degree of security and liberty, and a variety of concurring circumstances, before the arts and sciences can arrive to any sort of eminence and lustre. We shall not, therefore, be surprized to find, that they are the work of many generations.

Though England might be peopled several centuries before the first accounts we have of it, yet the barbarous condition in which we perceive it to have been, is no more than what might rationally be expected. At the time when Cæsar invaded the island, even husbandry does not seem to have been universally followed. Cattle constituted the chief wealth of numbers of the tribes that were settled in our country; and as to their towns, they were only woods surrounded with a ditch, and barricadoed with trees, where the inhabitants enclosed their wives, their children, their domestics, and their flocks, in order to preserve them from the attacks of their enemies. The low state of knowledge and refinement to which they had arrived, may be collected from the practice so confidently said to

have prevailed among them, of several brothers and friends having their wives in common. This practice, if it really existed, may be considered as a sure test of their barbarity; for though the British lady, in her smart reply to the empress Julia, made as good a defence of it as could well be done, yet it is certain that no such custom would be allowed in any nation that had advanced to the least degree of civilization.

Our ancestors, however, do not appear to have been without some skill in war. For though, in this respect, they were greatly inferior to the Romans, yet they conducted their opposition to Cæsar, in a manner that redounds highly to their credit, considering the amazing abilities of that general, and the excellent discipline of his army. The depravity of mankind has brought the wretched arts of mutual destruction much sooner to perfection than those which refine the soul, and are calculated to adorn, improve, and bless society.

But the objects which most excite our attention, in a survey of the state of knowledge among us, before the conquest of these islands by the Romans, are the Druids. They have been highly spoken of by several writers; so that our conception of these men is attended with a peculiar veneration, and we are ready to look upon them as having been persons of very extraordinary accomplishments. This deception has been assisted by our poets, who have spread a glory round them, and have painted them in a manner that disposes us to regard them as almost divine. But if we reduce our ideas to the test of sober reason, we shall not find much in the Druids, that was particularly excellent and valuable. They were the priests of the time, and, like other priests, had address and subtilty enough to acquire a vast authority, and to keep the people in absolute subjection. They were, like wise magistrates as well as priests, and had the determination of civil causes; a circumstance which was

the natural effect, both of their superior equality, and superior knowledge; for what knowledge then prevailed, was principally confined to them. However, the remains we have of the Druids, do not give us a very high opinion of the progress they had made, though undoubtedly they went far beyond the rest of their countrymen, and it is probable, that individuals among them might be men of great wisdom.

They entertained the notion of transmigration, a notion which has spread from the farthest east to the remotest west, and which has been so widely embraced, that a philosophical person cannot help looking on this fact as a singular phenomenon in the history of human nature, and imagining that either there is something in it very natural to the unenlightened mind of man, or that it proceeded from an ancient and general tradition. This fact strengthens the opinion advanced by some learned men, that the Druids much resembled the Persian Magi, and that their knowledge was originally derived from the east. The best principles advanced by the Druids, were, that the Deity is one and infinite, and that his worship ought not to be confined within walls; that all things derive their origin from Heaven; that the soul is immortal; and that children should be educated with the utmost care. But their prodigious veneration for the mistletoe, and the great effects they attributed to it; their opinion that the moon is a sovereign remedy for diseases; with others of their sentiments and customs, shewed a strong superstition; as their prohibiting an intercourse with strangers, if not merely a political law, testified a savageness of manners; and their allowance, nay command, of human sacrifices, carries in it the evidence of the most shocking cruelty. In truth, they were little more than the barbarous priests of a barbarous and unlettered people. Their knowledge is said to have reached to physics, to the mathematics, to astronomy, and to medicine; but as it was never committed to writing, it could not be very extensive. Indeed, it

chiefly consisted of the arcana of their doctrines and worship, and had a special relation to magic. What ever their wisdom was, if we may credit the testimony of Cæsar, it was found here in greater perfection than in Gaul; whence children were sent into Britain, to be instructed in the discipline of the Druids. The same eminent author informs us, that it had its original in this country, but that is a circumstance much disputed.

There were, likewise, priests of an inferior order, called Bards, whose principal business was to celebrate the praises of the gods and departed heroes, in odes and verses; and to sing them to their harps, at the irreligious assemblies, public festivals, and private entertainments. These men were, in fact, the heralds, the chronologers, and the historians, as well as the poets of the land; for they kept up the memory of illustrious transactions, and, by their compositions, which tradition handed down to posterity, they transmitted from age to age the names and characters of patriots and warriors. It is remarkable, that such a set of persons subsisted in almost all nations. The divine Homer himself can be considered as no other than one of them; whose consummate excellency of genius, together with a number of concurring circumstances, contributed to preserve his works from oblivion, and to raise him to the highest seat in the temple of fame. Bards have been found in many countries, and continued in Scotland and Ireland nearly to our own days. As to the ancient British ones, we have few remains of their productions; but we may venture to pronounce that many of them were truly valuable, as poetry is often an effort of mere genius and imagination, and does not require the advantage of cultivated times, to bring it to some degree of maturity. That of our ancestors was, no doubt, very incorrect, and might not be formed according to the rules of modern criticism, and the refinements of modern wisdom;

dom; but we may be certain there was often in it a noble sublimity, simplicity, and pathos, and that it was highly figurative, which is always the case with regard to infant societies, which have not acquired a variety of abstract and general terms. The Erse poems, published under the name of Ossian, whatever modern additions may have been made to them, have afforded an admirable specimen of what might be the conceptions of our ancient bards. The remains, likewise, of Taliesin, and of other Welch poets, will farther assist us in forming a competent judgment upon the subject.

We are informed also, that there was another order of persons, called Eubates, who applied themselves to the contemplation of the works of nature, and the study of philosophy. What progress they made, we are not told; but as true science was then little known in any part of the world, and much less in so ignorant and uncivilized a country, we may be well assured their discoveries were not considerable. It should seem probable that they were only a set of diviners, who pretended to foretel future events.

Such was the general state of things till the island came under the dominion of the Cæsars, which may be considered as a new epocha in the history of the knowledge of the ancient Britain. Whoever has a strong regard to the cause of freedom, can scarcely avoid being filled with indignation, when he beholds the Romans spreading desolation and slaughter around them; wantonly subduing the nations of the earth, and unjustly depriving them of their liberty. We cannot help, however, admiring the secret dispositions and wisdom of Providence, which rendered that people, unknown to themselves, the instrument of carrying on the divine purposes, in the moral government of the world. It was their sole intention to obtain power, wealth, and renown, and to subject the world to their yoke: but all this time they were working the will of Heaven, polishing and adorning the places with arts

which they conquered by their arms, diffusing knowledge in general, and paving the way for the Christian knowledge in particular. During the warm contests that subsisted between the Romans and the Britons, when the latter so gloriously, so bravely, though so unsuccessfully, struggled to maintain their independence, little progress could be made in literature. But when the country was peaceably settled into a province, then civility began to spread itself, the sciences to be cultivated, and taste to be refined. It was Agricola who completed our reduction; and Tacitus has informed us, that under the dominion of that excellent governor, the British nobles studied the Roman learning, and valued themselves on their magnificence and politeness; becoming pleased with what were, in fact, the badges of their slavery.

It is disagreeable to reflect, that the increasing wisdom of our ancestors, should be owing, in a good measure, to the loss of their liberty: but then it ought to be considered that the liberty they were deprived of, was very different from the rational, noble, and improved freedom by which we are now so happily distinguished. It was only a fierce barbarous kind of independence, that, perhaps, was not ill exchanged for the superior understanding, the civilized manners, and the social enjoyments of the Roman government. However this may have been, we are told that the arts and sciences flourished here, as much as in other parts of the empire. But it must be remembered that, at the time we are speaking of, taste and literature were upon the decline in Rome itself; and, therefore, the state of them in Britain, must partake of the corruption which began at the fountain. During this interval, there were, no doubt, schools of philosophy, and several eminent men. But what schools were established, what men were celebrated, we are not able to say; no traces of them being now to be found. The confusions that succeeded, destroyed all the remains of learning,

ing, and left a blank in this period which cannot be filled up.

CHAP. XVI.

OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST:

WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy, founded his claim to the English crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor in his favour; which he seconded by an oath extorted from Harold, when shipwrecked on the coast of France, that he would never aspire to the succession, and by which he bound himself to support the pretensions of William. The will Harold knew to be without foundation, and the oath he entirely disregarded, as it had both been drawn from him by the fear of violence, and was in itself unlawful, until William had been appointed successor both by the king, and chosen by the people; he therefore replied to the Norman ambassadors, who summoned him to return the kingdom, that he was determined strenuously to maintain the national liberties, with which he had been intrusted, and that the same moment should put a period to his life and his government.

This answer was no other than what William expected; he was therefore prepared for it. Having early in the summer raised a numerous army, he fitted out a strong fleet, and on the twenty-ninth of September 1066, landed at Pevensey, in Sussex; thence proceeding to Hastings, he built a strong fort, and in the place called Battle Field, engaged the army of Harold, when a most bloody battle ensued; which, though lost, was fought with the utmost bravery by the English,

lish, notwithstanding the dislike they had conceived to Harold. In this engagement, William had three horses killed under him, and a great number of his Normans slain; and Harold lost his life, together with the lives of many of the nobility, and about sixty thousand soldiers.

Historians tell us, that the loss of this battle was, in a great measure, owing to a long peace which the English had enjoyed, and in which they had neglected the military arts, and abandoned themselves to luxury and idleness; and to this, we may suppose, the licentiousness of the clergy, the effeminacy, gluttony, and oppression of the nobility, and the drunkenness and dissolute behaviour of the common people, did not a little contribute.

It is likewise to be observed, that the Normans had the advantage of the long bows, of the use of which the English were then ignorant. But notwithstanding these, the English with bills, their ancient weapons, kept so close together, that they were impregnable; and the Normans would never have obtained the victory, had they not pretended to fly, and by that means brought the English into disorder.

CHAP. XVII.

INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

HAROLD being slain in battle, William, who was about 40 years of age, marched directly to London, where he claimed the crown by the testament of King Edward the Confessor. On his way to that city, he

he was met by a large body of the men of Kent, each with a bough or limb of a tree in his hand. This army was headed by Stigand the Archbishop, who made a speech to the conqueror, in which he boldly demanded the preservation of their liberties, and let him know that they were resolved rather to die, than to part with their laws and live in bondage.

William thought proper to grant their demands; and suffered them to retain their ancient customs.

Upon his coronation at Westminster, he was sworn to govern by the laws of the realm; and though he introduced some new forms, yet he preserved to the English their trials by juries, and the borough law. He instituted the courts of Chancery and Exchequer; but at the same time disarmed his English subjects, and forbid their having any light in their houses after eight o'clock at night, when a bell was rung, called Curfew, or cover-fire, at the sound of which all were obliged to put out their fires and candles. He conquered several powers who invaded England; obliged the Scots to preserve the peace they had broken; compelled the Welch to pay him tribute; refused to pay homage to the Pope; built the tower of London; and had all public acts made in the Norman tongue. He caused a general survey of all the lands of England to be made, and an account to be taken of the inhabitants, and live stock upon each estate; all which were recorded in a book, called Doomsday-Book, which is now kept in the Exchequer,

But the repose of this fortunate and victorious king was disturbed in his old age, by the rebellion of his eldest son Robert, who had been appointed governor of Normandy, but now assumed the government as sovereign of that province, in which he was favoured by the king of France. And here we have the rise of the wars between England and France; which have continued longer, drawn more noble blood, and been attended with more memorable achievements, than any other

national quarrel we read of, in ancient or modern history.

William seeing a war inevitable, entered upon it with his usual vigour, and with incredible celerity, transporting a brave English army, invaded France, where he was every where victorious, but died before he had finished the war, in the year 1087, the sixty-first of his age and twenty-first of his reign in England, and was buried in his own abbey at Caen in Normandy.

CH A P. XVIII.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

BY the Norman conquest, England not only lost the true line of her ancient Saxon kings, but also her principal nobility, who either fell in battle, in defence of their country and liberties, or fled to foreign countries, particularly Scotland, where being kindly received by king Malcolm, they established themselves; and what is very remarkable, introduced the Saxon, or English, which has been the prevailing language of the Lowlands of Scotland to this day.

On the other hand, England by virtue of the conquest, became much greater, both in dominion and power, by the accession of so much territory upon the Continent. For though the Normans by the conquest, gained much of the English lands and riches, yet England gained the large and fertile dukedom of Normandy, which became a province to this crown. England likewise gained much by the great increase of naval power, and multitude of ships, wherein Normandy then abounded. This, with the perpetual

tual intercourse between England and the Continent, gave us an increase of trade and commerce, and of treasure to the crown and kingdom, as appeared soon afterwards.

England, by the Conquest, gained likewise a natural right to the dominion of the Channel, which had been before acquired only by the greater naval power of Edgar, and other Saxon kings. But the dominion of the narrow seas seems naturally to belong, like that rivers, to those who possess the banks or coasts, on both sides, and so to have strengthened the former title, by so long a coast, as that of Normandy on one side, and of England on the other side of the Channel. This dominion of the Channel, though we have long ago lost all our possessions in France, we continue to defend and maintain, by the bravery of our seamen, and the superior strength of our navy to any other power.

CH A P X I X.

THE CHARACTER OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR,
BY LORD LYTTLETON.

THE character of this prince has seldom been set in its true light; some eminent writers having been dazzled so much by the more shining parts of it, that they have hardly seen his faults; while others, out of a strong detestation of tyranny, have been unwilling to allow him the praise he deserves.

He may with justice be ranked among the greatest generals any age has produced. There was united in him activity, vigilance, intrepidity, caution, great

force of judgment, and never-failing presence of mind. He was strict in his discipline, and kept his soldiers in perfect obedience; yet preserved their affection. Having been, from his very childhood, continually in war, and at the head of armies, he joined to all the capacity that genius could give, all the knowledge and skill that experience could teach, and was a perfect master of the military art, as it was practised in the time wherein he lived.

His constitution enabled him to endure any hardships, and very few were equal to him in personal strength, which was an excellence of more importance than it is now, from the manner of fighting then in use. It is said of him, that none except himself could bend his bow.

His courage was heroic, and he possessed it, not only in the field, but (which is more uncommon) in the cabinet, attempting great things with means that to other men appeared totally unequal to such undertakings, and steadily prosecuting what he had boldly resolved, being never disturbed or disheartened by difficulties, in the course of his enterprizes; but having that noble vigour of mind, which, instead of bending to opposition, rises against it, and seems to have a power of controlling and commanding Fortune herself.

Nor was he less superior to pleasure than to fear. No luxury softened him, no riot disordered, no sloth relaxed. It helped not a little to maintain the high respect his subjects had for him, that the majesty of his character was never let down by any incontinence, or indecent excess. His temperance and his chastity were constant guards, that secured his mind from all weakness, supported its dignity, and kept it always, as it were, on the throne.

Through his whole life, he had no partner of his bed but his queen; a most extraordinary virtue in one
who

who had lived, even from his earliest youth, amidst all the licence of camps, the allurements of a court, and seductions of sovereign power ! Had he kept his oaths to his people, as well as he did his marriage vow, he would have been the best of kings ; but he indulged other passions of a worse nature, and infinitely more detrimental to the public than those he restrained. A lust of power, which no regard to justice could limit, the most unrelenting cruelty, and the most insatiable avarice possessed his soul.

It is true, indeed, that among many acts of extreme inhumanity, some shining instances of great clemency may be produced, that were either effects of his policy, which taught him the method of acquiring friends, or of his magnanimity, which made him slight a weak and subdued enemy, such as was Edgar Atheling, in whom he found neither spirit nor talents, able to contend with him for the crown. But where he had no advantage nor pride in forgiving, his nature discovered itself to be utterly void of all sense of compassion ; and some barbarities, which he committed, exceeded the bounds that even tyrants and conquerors prescribe to themselves.

Most of our ancient historians gave him the character of a very religious prince ; but his religion was after the fashion of those times, belief without examination, and devotion without piety. It was a religion that prompted him to endow monasteries, and at the same time allowed him to pillage kingdoms ; that threw him on his knees before a relic or cross, but suffered him unrestrained to trample upon the liberties and rights of mankind.

As to his wisdom in government, of which some modern writers have spoken very highly, he was, indeed, so far wise, that, through a long unquiet reign, he knew how to support oppression by terror, and employ the properest means for carrying on a very iniquitous

iniquitous and violent administration. But that which alone deserves the name of wisdom, in the character of a king, the maintaining of authority, by the exercise of those virtues which make the happiness of his people; was what, with all his abilities, he does not appear to have possessed.

Nor did he excel in those soothing and popular arts, which sometimes change the complexion of tyranny, and give it a fallacious appearance of freedom. His government was harsh and despotic, violating even the principles of that constitution which he himself had established. Yet so far he performed the duty of a sovereign, that he took care to maintain a good police in his realm; curbing licentiousness with a strong hand, which, in the turbulent state of his government, was a great and difficult work.

How well he performed it, we may learn even from the testimony of a contemporary Saxon historian, who says, that during his reign, a man might have travelled in perfect security all over the kingdom, with his bosom full of gold; nor durst any kill another, in revenge of the greatest offences, nor offer violence to the chastity of a woman. But it was a poor compensation, that the highways were safe, when the courts of justice were dens of thieves, and when almost every man in authority, or in office, used his power to oppress and pillage the people.

The king himself did not only tolerate, but encourage, support, and even share these extortions. Though the greatness of the ancient landed estate of the crown, and the feudal profits to which he was legally entitled, rendered him one of the richest monarchs in Europe, he was not content with all that opulence; but by authorizing the sheriffs, who collected his revenues in the several counties to practise the most grievous vexations and abuses, for the raising of them higher; by a perpetual auction of the crown lands, so that none of his tenants could be secure of possession,

possession, if any other would come and offer more: by various iniquities in the court of Exchequer, which was entirely Norman; by forfeitures wrongfully taken; and, lastly, by arbitrary and illegal taxations, he drew into his treasury much too great a proportion of the wealth of his kingdom.

It must, however, be owned, that if his avarice was insatiably and unjustly rapacious, it was not meanly parsimonious, nor of that sordid kind, which brings on a prince dishonour and contempt. He supported the dignity of his crown, with a decent magnificence, and though he never was lavish, he sometimes was liberal, more especially to his soldiers and to the church. But looking on money as a necessary means of maintaining and increasing power, he desired to accumulate as much as he could, rather, perhaps, from an ambitious than a covetous nature; at least his avarice was subservient to his ambition, and he laid up wealth in his coffers, as he did arms in his magazines, to be drawn out, when any proper occasion required it, for the defence and enlargement of his dominions.

Upon the whole, he had many great qualities, but few virtues; and if those actions which most particularly distinguish the man or the king are impartially considered, we shall find, that in his character, there is much to admire, but still more to abhor.

C H A P. XX.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE, FROM
THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MODERN NA-
TIONS, TO THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH
CENTURY.

THOUGH the northern invaders wanted taste to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered; and the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity would doubtless have softened their savage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous superstition; which, mingling itself with Christian principles and ceremonies, produced that absurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly, which has so long disgraced the Romish Church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Christianity was a loser by the conversion of the Barbarians. They rather changed the object, than the spirit of their religion.

The Christian emperors had enriched the church. They had lavished on it privileges and immunities. These seducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of discipline, and the introduction of disorders, more or less hurtful, which had altered the spirit of the gospel.

Under the dominion of the Barbarians, the degeneracy increased, till the pure principles of Christianity were lost in a gross superstition, which instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue, the only sacrifice

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which can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and of excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God, by the same means that satisfied the justice of men, or by those employed to appease their fabulous deities.

Such of the Barbarians as entered into orders, carried their ignorance and original prejudices along with them. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences. Truth was not permitted to see the light, and reason was fettered in the cell of superstition.

The priests invented fables to awe the people into submission. They employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods. They changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas. The religion of Jesus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the instrument of so many wars and revolutions, they joined the assistance of the sword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their possessions, or to usurp those of others.

Without arts, sciences, commerce, policy, principle, almost all the European nations were as barbarous and wretched as they could possibly be, unless a miracle had been wrought for the disgrace of humanity. Charlemagne, indeed, in France, and Alfred the Great, in England, as we have already had occasion to see, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and tame their subjects to the restraints of law; and they were so fortunate as to succeed. Light and order distinguished their reigns. But the ignorance and barbarism of the age were too powerful for their liberal institutions. The darkness returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than before, and settled over Europe, and society again tumbled into chaos.

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century; but what letters? A scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, composed the learning of those times. It confounded

confounded every thing, in endeavouring to analyse every thing. As the new scholars were principally divines, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention; and, as they neither knew history, philosophy, nor criticism, their labours were as futile as their enquiries, which were equally disgraceful to reason and religion.

CH A P. XXI.

ON THE VENERABLE BEDF, AND SEVERAL OTHER EARLY WRITERS OF ENGLAND.

THOSE early writers, who arrived at distinguished eminence in a dark age, ought to be considered as the heroes of literature. In later times, and indeed at present, there are various and powerful incitements to literary ambition. A competent education is become general. Books are easily procured, readers abound, and reputation and gain are the usual effects of remarkable improvement. But to have written much and successfully in the seventh century, is a proof of uncommon ardour and undaunted perseverance, such as was not to be cooled by neglect, nor obstructed by difficulty. Books, which must always supply the materials for writing, were at that time difficult to be procured; and after they were collected, and the compositions to which they gave occasion completed, few were capable of reading them, or of bestowing on them that approbation which they justly deserved. It is, indeed, difficult to form an adequate idea of the strength and resolution which, amidst all these discouragements, could confine a student of that period to the

the labour of writing, and enable him to succeed in it to the admiration of distant ages.

The venerable Bede stands forth a very illustrious example of piety and literary application. He was born about the middle of the seventh century, at Jarrow, at the mouth of the Tyne, and was early devoted to a monastic life. He confined himself to his solitary cell; and, though he was invited to Italy by the pope, preferred the sweets of liberty and of an unambitious life, which he spent in a regular alternation of prayers and study.

In the third volume of his history, he says of himself, "When I was seven years old, I was given up by my relations to the very respectable abbot Benedict, and then to Ceolfrid, to be educated by them; and, passing my whole life in the same monastery, I employed myself entirely in meditating on the Scriptures; and, amidst the observance of a strict discipline, and the daily business of chanting in the church, I constantly found, in the exercises of learning, of teaching, and of writing, a sweet amusement."

His great work was an Ecclesiastical History; but his miscellaneous productions are almost incredibly numerous. He is said to have been skilled in Greek as well as in Latin, and he distinguished himself by his knowledge in poetry, rhetoric, general history, astronomy, arithmetic, chronology, philosophy, and theology. So great was his character as a theologian, that his Homilies were appointed to be read in churches, even while he was alive, by the express order of the bishops. To this circumstance he probably owes the title of Venerable; for, as he was alive, he could not easily be made a saint, and therefore he was honoured with an intermediate, but most respectable, epithet; an epithet significant of the sanctity of his character, which was as strikingly marked by warmth and sincerity of devotion, as by extensive learning.

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He has not affected elegance of style ; but he is not altogether inelegant. He is perspicuous, if he is not pure ; and concise and easy, if not full and harmonious. Though he is said to have drawn his learning from the Greek and Latin authors, yet he seems to have attended more to their matter than their manner. He is credulous, and relates the foolish stories of an uncultivated age, as if they were true history. He undoubtedly has some faults of his age, and has been severely censured for them by Du Pin, Dargonne, and Milton ; but he has been extolled and admired by those, whose names, both in number and weight, will be more than equivalent to his censurers ; and, take him for all in all, as Shakespeare says, he must be considered as one of the earliest, and, on that account, as well as his intrinsic merits, one of the most brilliant ornaments of English literature. His Ecclesiastical History, in five books, was published in the last century at Cambridge, with the Saxon paraphrase of Alfred the Great. His various other works are scattered throughout all the most ancient and valuable libraries in the kingdom. Considering the improvements which have been made in the space of a thousand years, they may not probably be very useful, but they are striking and curious examples of early learning and application, under great disadvantages.

Alcuin was the scholar of Bede, and reflects honour on his master. His learning was deep and extensive. He wrote not fewer than fifty treatises on important subjects, and in a style which, in his age, was not inelegant. He had the singular honour of introducing polite literature into France, whither he was invited by the king, by recommending the establishment of the university of Paris. He is said also to have founded a school at Tours, where he presided as the master, and refused to leave his employment and institution, at the urgent invitation of the emperor Charlemagne.

Joannes Scotus Erigena became a very distinguish-

ed scholar in the eighth century. He was most probably a native of Scotland, though England and Ireland have put in their claims to the honour of his birth. He wrote many treatises; but his principal work was his five books on the Division of Nature, printed in the last century at Oxford. He also, like Alcuin, was invited to France by Francis the Bald, with whom he lived on terms of intimate friendship, and even familiarity. Some of his writings were thought rather injurious to the Roman Catholic religion; and, at the instigation of the pope, he was driven from Paris to his native country. On his return, he was assassinated by the monks of Malmesbury, who stabbed him with penknives, in revenge for the freedom with which he had ventured to reprehend them. Bale relates a circumstance, which tends to render this old author remarkable. He tells us, that he was the first professor in Oxford, and was appointed to his office by Alfred himself, immediately after that great king had begun the establishment of this noble university.

These examples of uncommon application and success, under circumstances the most unfavourable, will serve to amuse the young reader, and to rouse his diligence. Anecdotes of the learned are particularly pleasing to all persons of taste. This pleasure is necessarily connected with improvement, for we can scarcely read the accounts of them transmitted to us by critics and biographers, without admiring the many instances of virtue and learning which occur, and we insensibly learn to imitate what we habitually admire. As in the arts of painting and sculpture, the best method of facilitating the progress of the artist is to place the finest models constantly in his view, so also in life and in letters it is of the highest importance to point out patterns of that actual excellence, which, in our precepts and exhortations, we have previously recommended. There is no method so successful of displaying

displaying the blemishes to be avoided, and the beauties to be pursued.

CHAP. XXII.

OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, AND ITS PREVALENCY DURING THE TENTH CENTURY.

THE Goths and Vandals, who dismembered the Roman empire, considered their conquests as common property, in which all had a right to share, as all had contributed to acquire them; nor was any obligation whatsoever entailed on possessions thus obtained. Every one was the king of his own little territory. But after settling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquisitions to maintain, not only against the ancient inhabitants, but also against the incursions of new invaders, they saw the necessity of a closer union, and of relinquishing some of their private rights for public safety.

They continued, therefore, to acknowledge the general, who had led them to conquest. He was considered as the head of the colony. He had the largest share of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every inferior officer and foldier, upon receiving a share according to his military rank, bound himself to appear against the enemies of the community.

This new division of property, and the obligations consequent upon it, gave rise to a species of government formerly unknown, and which is now distinguished by the name of the Feudal System.

Towards the close of the tenth century, the feudal policy

policy was become universal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquises employed to guard the marches, and even the counts intrusted with the administration of justice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themselves masters of their duchies, marquisesates, and counties. The king, indeed, as superior lord, still received homage from them for those lands, which they held of the crown, and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had a right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their assembled peers, and of confiscating their estates in case of rebellion; but in all other respects, they themselves enjoyed the rights of royalty. They had their sub-vassals, or subjects; they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war against their private enemies.

The most frightful disorders arose from this state of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle, where the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle. They were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. Nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians, in their deserts, could not be less indebted to the laws of society, than the Europeans, during the period under review. The people, the most numerous, as well as the most useful class in the community, were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a voluntary surrender of their liberty, for bread and protection. What must have been the state of that government, where slavery was an eligible condition!

C H A P. XXIII.

OF CHIVALRY.

MR. HUME observes, that there is a point of depression, as well as exaltation, beyond which human affairs seldom pass, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline society seems to have attained in Europe, about the beginning of the eleventh century; and accordingly, from the æra, we can trace a succession of causes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and to introduce order and politeness.

Among the first of these causes we must rank Chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquisitive Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice, and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

The feudal state, as has been observed, was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were exposed, every moment, to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the legislative authority too feeble to redress them. There was scarce any shelter from violence and oppression, except what the valour and generosity of private persons afforded; and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpless could appeal for justice.

justice. The trader could no longer travel in safety, or bring to market his commodities, without which there was no subsisting. Every possessor of a castle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way.

Slight inconveniencies may be overlooked or endured; but when abuses grow to a certain height the society must reform, or go to ruin. It becomes the business of all to discover, and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove them. Humanity sprung from the bosom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every species of outrage, and every mode of oppression; who, equally unjust, unfeeling, and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged; who had massacred, and done penance; touched, at last, by a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety; so honourable was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical.

The young warrior, among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the first time, with certain ceremonies proper to inspire martial ardour; but chivalry, considered as a civil and military institution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous discipline and solemnities of initiation are to be found in books of knighthood. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were its characteristics. To these were added religion; which, by infusing a large portion of enthusiastic zeal, carried them all to a romantic excess, wonderfully suited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greatest and most permanent effects, both upon policy and manners.

War was carried on with less ferocity, when

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humanity

humanity, no less than courage, came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood; and knighthood a distinction superior to royalty, and an honour, which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen. More gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and very knight devoted himself to the service of a lady. Violence and oppression decreased, when it was accounted meritorious to check and punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly those between the sexes, as more easily violated, became the distinguishing character of a gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point; and valour, seconded by so many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irresistible.

That the spirit of chivalry sometimes rose to an extravagant height, and had often a pernicious tendency, must however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a series of wild adventures, which have been deservedly ridiculed. In the train of Norman ambition, it extinguished the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we shall soon see it at the call of superstition, and as the engine of papal power, desolate Asia under the banner of the cross. But these ought not to be considered as arguments against an institution, laudable in itself, and necessary at the time of its foundation: and those who pretend to despise it, the advocates of ancient barbarism and ancient rusticity, ought to remember, that chivalry not only first taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeness with the use of the sword, but roused the human soul from its lethargy, invigorated the human character,

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even while it softened it, and produced exploits, which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety, elegance, and pleasure, to the intercourse of life, by making women a more essential part of society; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, should be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.

CH A P. XXIV.

OF BARDS, OR MINSTRELS:

THE profession of a bard, or minstrel, or itinerant musician, which at this period was held in great estimation, is now almost dwindled into contempt. The word is become obsolete, and is used in our statute books to signify a vagrant, or stroller, with whom the world has no communication. The minstrel, in former ages, was the companion of the monarch and the hero. In peace, his song amused them in their hours of festivity; and in war animated them to the fight. It was customary in that rude, though more simple period, for every great man to retain one in his service. Their employment was to recite the great actions of their patrons in a sort of metrical verse, which they sometimes sung and accompanied with their harps.

Love, that artificial passion of the human breast, founded on the intercourse of the sexes, was enobled and refined by them; they super-added sentiment to it, which exalted and dignified the mere animal appetite, and rendered it an incentive to the most daring and heroic exploits. Animated to heroism by the

united powers of poetry and music, they braved every peril to approve themselves and their valour in the eyes of their mistress, whom they adored, and they thought themselves amply rewarded for the most hazardous toils by their smiles. From thence sprung those brilliant actions, which, like stars in a dark night, that glitter in the hemisphere, embellished the history, and dispelled the horrors of those unenlightened times. The great, in those days of rudeness, did not think themselves dishonoured by appearing in the garb and character of minstrels. Alfred, under the disguise of a harper, visited the Danish camp; and, according to our historians, the Normans at the battle of Hastings were inspired by the heroic deeds sung in the ballad of Rollo.

It might be worth our while to pursue this subject a little farther, and trace the services and consequence of the minstrels in former times. It was the bard Blondel who delivered Richard the First from the captivity in which his imprudence had involved him. The signal services they performed in compelling the Welch to raise the siege of Chester, occasioned the insertion of a clause in the Vagrant act, which invested the heirs of the family of Dutton with the privilege of licensing vagrants, under conditions therein expressed.

We do not pretend to be exactly chronological; we only pretend to mention facts as they arise to memory. Edward the First, according to a tradition current in Wales, after he had completed the conquest of that country, ordered all the bards or minstrels (for their names were then synonymous) to be put to death, being apprehensive, that they would keep alive the glowing flame of liberty, by reminding the vanquished of the great deeds of their ancestors. This incident furnished the ingenious Mr. Gray with the subject of his beautiful Pindaric Ode, intitled the

the Bard, beginning "Ruin seize thee, ruthless King."

Offian sung the heroic exploits of his father Fingal; his voice was the only record of the great actions of that hero; and oral tradition has handed down his songs to us, from race to race, for upwards of 1400 years. Mr. Macpherson luckily discovered them in the Highlands, and brought them to light and the public notice. His version of this northern bard, and Dr. Blair's learned Dissertation, could not however, secure him from invidious censure.

We are much indebted to the labours of these minstrels. History owes to them all her information on the manners and customs of their countries. Witnesses of the usages of their respective places, they have transmitted to us the manners and customs of their time pure and unmixed. Oh! that as much might be said in praise of those numerous compositions sung in public and private, and by those opposites to simplicity—people of fashion.

If we look into the ballads which have been rescued from oblivion, we shall admire their elegant simplicity, and the pathetic strokes with which they abound; nor are they always founded on fiction. The same spirit which animated the nobles in those days was adopted by their vassals, who were desirous of imitating their superiors.

Though Fame, who is always the herald of the great, has seldom deigned to transmit their exploits to posterity (for it is commonly the fate of those whom fortune has placed in the vale of obscurity to have their noble actions buried in oblivion); yet these verses have preserved many instances of domestic woe or felicity. The vulgar are the most numerous in all societies; and why should not their meritorious actions be preserved to posterity; these constitute the principal ornaments of human life; and why should they not be recorded, as well as the exploits of turbulent

bulent ambition, which has for its object, devastation and the destruction of the human species? Many an instance of constancy, generosity, and friendship, which might have done honour to humanity, has been suffered to float unregarded down the stream of time, and perish in the gulph of oblivion; while the achievements of madmen, miscalled heroes, have been blazoned with the adventitious ornaments of rhetoric, and held up in every age as the proper examples for youth to follow in their pursuit of glory.

Calamities make a lasting impression on the human mind, while the traces of prosperity are soon effaced. Plagues, whirlwinds, earthquakes, fires, &c. &c. dwell on the memory, and serve to mark an æra, while auspicious seasons roll away unheeded. The bright examples of conjugal fidelity, which are to be found in many of our ancient ballads, are proofs that love and honour were the idols of our ancestors in those barbarous ages. The spirit of gallantry supplied the place of, and sometimes exceeded, that civilization and refinement which at present reign in most parts of Europe. We cannot take a view of these uncultivated ages, without a regret, mingled with veneration. Courage, chastity, hospitality, and generosity were the characteristics of those times, they wanted nothing but that softness of manners which distinguishes the present age, to render them complete.

In times of ignorance and barbarism, the human mind acts with vigour, and supplies the want of ingenuity by strength. If we view the outlines of any of the works of the feudal times, we shall find them to be grand and striking, although rude and destitute of ornament. We behold with astonishment the unlettered Goth, the foe to science and literature, giving birth to a system of manners and refinement unknown to former ages of Greece and Rome. We

see order and civilization springing from the chaos of anarchy and ferocity, valour and humanity from violence and injustice, with the same astonishment that we contemplate the creation of the world, or light proceeding from darkness.

Our northern ballads are the most pathetic, and reflect with greater lustre the heroic manners which gave them birth; manners rude yet respectable. It is not surprising that the institutions of chivalry should be known in those remote regions, when we consider that they had their origin from Scandinavia, and the countries adjacent to the north pole, and were founded by the Goths, who over ran the Roman empire. The Norwegians, who inhabited part of the ancient Scandinavia, made frequent descents on the coast of Scotland, and were for a series of years sovereigns of the Hebrides, where they introduced the martial genius and Gothic manners of their country.

The portraits which these ballads spread before our eyes, are very interesting representatives of the manners of our ancestors. In them, we behold a singular contrast of religion and gallantry, magnificence and simplicity, bravery and cowardice: a strange medley of subtlety and force, of noble actions produced by chimerical motives, and servile offices ennobled by elevated principles; in short, customs worthy of being studied, as well as the manners of the Orientals, Greeks, or Romans, by every lover of the ethics of former times.

Those who have not studied antiquity with a sedulous application, can scarce conceive the institutions of chivalry as a rational institution, and much less as a political establishment, of which the history is necessarily connected with the noble and military affairs of the northern courts of Europe. To their apprehension, it appears as a whimsical system, imagined

by the ancient romancers to serve as the basis to fictions and insipid as they were monotonous.

Nothing can afford a more pleasing amusement to an enquiring mind, than the contrast of manners between the ancient Goths, the Saxons, the Germans, and the Franks, and those described by Homer.

We shall now conclude with a reflection naturally arising from a view of this stupendous fabric of ancestry. Perfection is not the lot of humanity, and the age of heroism had its foibles, as well as the modern. If we are effeminate, they were too often ferocious. If we less frequently produce those astonishing examples of heroism and generosity, we are not so cruel and revengeful. If we are not so famous for fidelity in friendship, and if we are less disinterested and warm, our resentments are also less inexorable. But let us not be too hasty in censuring the manners of our venerable forefathers; peace be to their manes! We are perhaps indebted to them for that liberality of sentiment upon which we so much value ourselves.

CH A P. XXV.

OF THE FIRST CRUSADE TO THE HOLY LAND,
IN ORDER TO DRIVE THE INFIDELS FROM
JURUSALEM. A. D. 1096.

POPE Gregory VII, among his other vast ideas, had formed the project of uniting the western Christians against the Mahometans, and of recovering Palestine from the hands of those infidels; and his quarrels with the emperor, Henry IV, by which he declared himself an enemy to the civil power of princes, only
could

could have obstructed the progress of this undertaking, conducted by so able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were so fully prepared for such an enterprise. The work, however, was reserved for a meaner instrument; for a man, whose condition could excite no jealousy, and whose head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But before we mention this man, it will be necessary to say a few words of the state of the East at that time, and of the passion for pilgrimages, which then prevailed in Europe.

We naturally view, with veneration and delight, those places which have been the residence of any illustrious personage, or the scene of any great transaction. Hence the enthusiasm with which the literati still visit the ruins of Athens and Rome; and hence flowed the superstitious devotion with which Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, were accustomed to visit that country, where their religion had taken its rise, and that city, in which the Messiah had died for the redemption of those who believe in his name.

Pilgrimages to the shrines of martyrs and saints were also common. But as this distant pilgrimage could not be performed without considerable expence, fatigue, and danger, it appeared (for these reasons, as well as its superior sanctity) more meritorious than all others, and came to be considered as an expiation for almost every crime. And an opinion, which prevailed over Europe towards the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, increased the number and the ardour of the credulous devotees, who undertook this tedious journey.

The thousand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelation, were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world at hand. A general consternation seized the minds of Christians; many relinquished their possessions, abandoned their

friends and families, and hurried with precipitation to the Holy land, where they imagined that Christ would suddenly appear, to judge the quick and the dead.

But the Christians, in these pious journeys, had the mortification to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places made sacred by the presence of the Saviour, fallen into the hands of infidels. The followers and the countrymen of Mahomet had early made themselves masters of Palestine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect against so warlike an enemy. They gave little disturbance, however, to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem; and they allowed every person, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace.

But the Turks, a Tarrar tribe, who had also embraced Mahometism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem, pilgrims were exposed to outrages of every kind from these fierce barbarians: and this change coinciding with the panic of the consummation of all things, and the supposed appearance of Christ on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every person who returned from Palestine related the dangers which he had encountered in visiting the holy city, and described, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks; who, to use the language of those zealots, not only profaned the sepulchre of the Lord by their presence, but derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was speedily expected to judge the world.

C H A P. XXVI.

PETER THE HERMIT EXCITES BOTH PRINCES
AND PEOPLE TO THIS EXPEDITION.

WHILE the minds of men were thus roused, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII, of leading all the forces of Christendom against the Infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was so deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now exposed Christians, that he ran from province to province on his return, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the same enthusiastic ardour for it, with which he himself was animated.

Urban II, who had at first been doubtful of the success of such a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and summoned a council at Placentia, which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being sufficient to contain the multitude. It consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand seculars, who all declared for the war against the Infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprize. Urban, therefore, found it necessary to call another council the same year, at Clermont, in Auvergne, where the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes, attended; and when the pope and the hermit had concluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, exclaimed with one voice, " It is the will of God!—It is the will

of God!"--Words which were deemed so memorable, and believed to be so much the result of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the on the sacred standard, and as the signal of rendezvous and battle, in all the future exploits of the champions of the Cross, the symbol chosen by the devoted combatants, as the badge of union, and affixed to their right shoulder. Hence their expedition got the name of a Crusade.

CH A P. XXVII.

OF THE NUMBER OF ADVENTURERS.

PERSONS of all ranks flew to arms, with the utmost ardour; not only the gallant nobles of that age, with martial followers, whom the boldness of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure; but men in the more humble and pacific stations of life; ecclesiastics of every order; and even women, concealing their sex beneath the disguise of armour, engaged with emulation in an undertaking, which was deemed so sacred and meritorious. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes. If they succeeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promised a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, passion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the same end; and the combination of so many causes produced that wonderful emigration, which made the princess Anna Commena say, 'that Europe, loosened from its foundation, and impelled by its moving principle, seemed in one united body to precipitate itself upon Asia.'

The number of adventurers soon became so great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond count of Thoulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, became apprehensive, lest the greatness of the armament should defeat its purpose; so that they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyless, and other wild fanatics.

Peter and his army, before which he walked with sandals on his feet, and a rope about his waist, took the road to Constantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Goodescald, a German priest, and his banditti, took the same route; and trusting that Heaven, by supernatural means, would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. But they soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles.

Want is ingenious in suggesting pretences for its supply. Their fury first discharged itself upon the Jews. As the soldiers of Jesus Christ, they thought themselves authorised to take revenge upon his murderers. Accordingly, they fell upon these unhappy people, and put to the sword without mercy such as would not submit to baptism, seizing their effects as lawful prize.

But Jews not being every where to be found, these pious robbers, who had tasted the sweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without distinction; till the inhabitants of the countries, through which they passed, rose, and cut them almost all off. The Hermit, however, and the remnant of his army, consisting of twenty thousand starving wretches, at length reached Constantinople, where

where he received a fresh supply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greatest disorders, pillaging even the churches.

Asia, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little states, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkish princes paid an empty homage to the Caliphs, but were in reality their masters; and the Sultans, who were very numerous, weakened still further the empire of Mahomet, by continual wars with each other, the necessary consequence of divided sway. The soldiers of the cross therefore, who, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus, amounted to the incredible number of one hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, were sufficient to have conquered all Asia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders, who observed any concert in their operations. But they were unhappily conducted by men of the most independent, intractable spirits, unacquainted with discipline, and enemies to civil or military subordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprize, in spite of every obstacle; the scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obstinate siege, they took Nice, the seat of old Soliman, Sultan of Syria, whose army they had twice defeated. They made themselves masters of Antioch, the seat of another Sultan, and entirely broke the strength of the Turks, who had so long tyrannized over the Arabs.

C H A P. XXVIII.

THE CRUSADERS BESIEGE AND TAKE JERUSALEM.

A. D. 1099.

THE Caliph of Egypt, whose alliance the Christians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, the authority of the Caliphs in Jerusalem; upon which he sent ambassadors to the leaders of the Crusade, informing them, that they might perform their religious vows, if they came disarmed to that city; and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment, which they had ever received from his predecessors. His offer was however rejected. He was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and, on his refusal, the champions of the Cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquisition of which they considered as the consummation of their labours.

These pious adventurers were now much diminished, by the detachments they had made, and the disasters they had undergone; and what is almost incredible; according to the testimony of most historians, they did not exceed twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, while the garrison of Jerusalem consisted of forty thousand men. But, be that as it may, after a siege of five weeks, they took the city by assault, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword, without distinction. Arms protected not the brave, nor submission the timid. No age nor sex

was

was spared. Infants perished by the same sword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with heaps of slain : and the shrieks of agony or despair still resounded from every house, when these triumphant warriors, glutted with slaughter, threw aside their arms, yet streaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet and bended knees to the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace ! So inconsistent is human nature with itself ; and so easily does superstition associate both with the most heroic courage, and with the fiercest barbarity.

C H A P. XXIX.

OF HENRY THE SECOND, AND THOMAS BECKET.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, who was crowned king of England, A. D. 1154, was by far the greatest prince of his time. He soon discovered amazing abilities for government, and had performed, in the sixteenth year of his age, actions that would have dignified the most experienced warriors. At his accession to the throne, he found the condition of the English boroughs greatly bettered, by the privileges granted them in the struggles between their late kings and the nobility. Henry perceived the good policy of this, and brought the boroughs to such a height, that if a bondman or servant remained in a borough a year and a day, he was by such residence made free. He demolished many of the castles that had been built by the barons : but when he came to touch the clergy, he found their usurpations not to be shaken. He perceived, that

that the root of all their enormous disorders lay in Rome, where the popes had exempted church-men not only from lay courts, but civil taxes. The bloody cruelties and disorders, occasioned by those exemptions, all over the kingdom, would be incredible, were they not attested by the most unexceptionable evidences.

Unfortunately for Henry, the head of the English church, and chancellor of the kingdom, was the celebrated Thomas Becket. This man, powerful from his offices, and still more so by his popularity, arising from a pretended sanctity, was violent, irrepressible, and a determined enemy to temporal power of every kind, but withal, cool and politic. The king assembled his nobility at Clerendon, the name of which place is still famous for the constitutions there enacted; which, in fact, abolished the authority of the Romish See over the English clergy. Becket finding it in vain to resist the stream, signed those constitutions, till they could be ratified by the pope; who, as he foresaw, rejected them.

Henry, though a prince of the most determined spirit of any of his time, was then embroiled with all his neighbours; and the See of Rome was at the same time in its meridian grandeur. Becket having been arraigned and convicted of robbing the public, while he was chancellor, fled to France, where the pope and the French king espoused his quarrel. The effect was, that all the English clergy, who were on the king's side, were excommunicated, and the subjects absolved from their allegiance. This disconcerted Henry so much, that he submitted to treat with, and even to be insulted by his rebel prelate, who returned triumphantly through the streets of London in 1170.

C H A P. XXX.

OF THE MURDER OF THOMAS BECKET.

NOTHING could exceed the insolence with which Becket conducted himself upon his first landing in England. He immediately began to launch forth his thunders against those who had been his former opposers. Against the archbishop of York he denounced sentence of suspension; and the bishops of London and Salisbury he actually excommunicated.

Henry was in Normandy, while the primate was thus parading through the kingdom; and it was not without the utmost indignation, that he received information of his turbulent insolence. When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived with their complaints, his anger knew no bounds. He broke forth into the most acrimonious expressions against that arrogant churchman, whom he had raised from the lowest station, to be the plague of his life, and the continual disturber of his government. The Archbishop of York remarked to him, that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity; and the king himself burst out into an exclamation, that he had no friends about him, otherwise he would not have been so long exposed to the insults of that ungrateful hypocrite. These words excited the attention of the whole court; and armed four of his most resolute attendants to gratify their monarch's secret inclinations. The names of these knights and gentlemen of his household were Reginal Fitz Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Britto, who imme-

diated

diately communicated their thoughts to each other. They instantly bound themselves by an oath to revenge their king's quarrel: secretly retiring from court, took shipping at different ports, and met the next day at the castle of Salwode, within six miles of Canterbury.

Some menacing expressions, which they had dropt, and their sudden departure, gave the king reason to suspect their design. He therefore sent messengers to overtake and forbid them, in his name, to commit any violence. But these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The conspirators being joined by some assistants at the place of their meeting, proceeded to Canterbury with all that haste their bloody intentions required. Advancing directly to Becket's house, and entering his apartment, they reproached him very fiercely for the rashness and the insolence of his conduct; as if they had been willing to enjoy his terrors before they destroyed him. Becket, however, was not in the least terrified; but vindicated his actions with that zeal and resolution, which nothing, probably, but the consciousness of his innocence could inspire. The conspirators felt the force of his replies; and were particularly enraged at a charge of ingratitude; which he objected to three of them, who had been formerly retained in his service.

During this altercation, the time approached for Becket to assist at Vespers, whither he went unguarded, the conspirators following, and preparing for their attempt. As soon as he had reached the altar, where it is just to think he aspired at the glory of martyrdom, they all fell upon him; and having cloven his head with repeated blows, he dropt down dead before the altar of St. Benedict, which was besmeared with his blood and brains.

C H A P. XXXI.

OF THE IMPRESSION WHICH BECKET'S ASSASSINATION MADE ON THE PEOPLE.

THE circumstances of Becket's murder, the place where it was perpetrated, and the fortitude, with which the prelate resigned himself to his fate, made a most surprizing impression on the people. No sooner was his death known, than the people rushed into the church to see the body; and dipping their hands into his blood, crossed themselves with it, as with that of a saint.

The clergy, whose interest it was to have Becket considered as a saint, and perhaps who were sincere in their belief, considering the times we treat of, did all that lay in their power to magnify his sanctity, to extol the merits of his martyrdom, and to hold him out as the fittest object for the veneration of the people. Their endeavours soon prevailed. Innumerable were the miracles said to be wrought at his tomb. It was not sufficient that his shrine had the power of restoring dead men to life; it restored also cows, dogs and horses. It was reported, and believed, that he rose from his coffin before he was buried, to light the tapers designed for his funeral; nor was he remiss, when the funeral ceremony was over, in stretching forth his hands to give his benediction to the people. Thus Becket became a saint; and the king was strongly suspected of having procured his assassination.

Nothing could exceed the king's consternation upon receiving the first news of the prelate's catastrophe. He was instantly sensible that the murder would, ultimately, be imputed to him. He was apprized that his death would

would effect what his opposition could not do : and would procure those advantages to the church, which it had been the study of his whole reign to refuse. These considerations gave him the most unfeigned concern. He shut himself up in darkness, refusing even the attendance of his domestics. He even refused, during three days, all nourishment. The courtiers, dreading the effects of his regret, were at last obliged to break into his solitude ; and induced him at last to be reconciled to a measure that he could not redress. The pope soon after being made sensible of the king's innocence, granted him his pardon ; but upon condition that he would make every future submission, and perform every injunction that the holy see should require. All things being thus adjusted, the assassins, who had murdered Becket, retired in safety to the enjoyment of their former dignities and honours ; and the king, in order to divert the minds of the people to a different object, undertook an expedition against Ireland, which he conquered and took possession of, A. D. 1172.

C H A P. XXXIII.

KING JOHN RESIGNS HIS CROWN INTO THE HANDS
OF THE POPE'S NUNCIO. A. D. 1213.

JOHN had several contests with the Pope, who excommunicated him, and absolved the people of England from their oath of allegiance. At last he informed him that he was resolved to deprive him of his kingdom, and to give it to Philip, king of France. Accordingly, Philip levied a great army, and summoning all the vassals of the crown to attend him at Rouen, he collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels in the sea-ports of Normandy

Normandy and Picardy, already devouring in imagination the kingdom he was appointed to possess.

John, who, unsettled and apprehensive, scarcely knew where to turn, was still able to make an expiring effort to receive the enemy. All hated as he was, on account of his bad conduct, the natural enmity between the French and the English, the name of king, which he still retained, and some remaining power, put him at the head of sixty thousand men, a sufficient number, indeed, but not to be relied on, and with these he advanced to Dover.

Europe now regarded the important preparations on both sides with impatience; and the decisive blow was expected, in which the church was to triumph, or to be overthrown. But neither Philip nor John had ability equal to the pontiff by whom they were actuated. He appeared, on this occasion, too refined a politician for either. He only intended to make use of Philip's power to intimidate his refractory son, not to destroy him. He expected more advantages from his agreement with a prince, so abject both in character and fortune, than from his alliance with a great and victorious monarch; who, having nothing else left to conquer, might convert his power against his benefactor. He, therefore, secretly commissioned Pandulp, his legate, to admit of John's submission, in case it should be offered, and he dictated the terms which would be proper for him to impose. In consequence of this, the legate passed through France, where he beheld Philip's great armament ready to set sail, and highly commended the monarch's zeal and expedition. From thence he went in person, or, as some say, sent over an envoy to Dover, under pretence of negotiating with the barons, and had a conference with John upon his arrival. He there represented to this forlorn prince, the numbers of the enemy, the hatred of his own subjects, and the secret confederacy there was in England against him. He intimated, that there was but one way to secure him
from

from impending danger ; which was to put himself under the pope's protection, who was a merciful father, and still willing to receive a repentant sinner to his bosom.

John was too much intimidated by the manifest danger of his situation, not to embrace every means offered for his safety. He assented to the truth of the legate's remonstrances, and took an oath to perform whatever stipulations the pope should impose. Having thus sworn to the performance of an unknown command, the artful Italian so well managed the barons, and so effectually intimidated the king, that he persuaded him to take the most extraordinary oath in all the records of history, before all the people, upon his knees, and with his hands held up between those of the legate.

“ I John, by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from mine own free will, and the advice of my barons, give to the church of Rome, to pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my master, and his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of a thousand marks yearly ; to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland.” Having thus done homage to the legate, he received the crown, which he had been supposed to have forfeited, while the legate trampled under his feet the tribute which John had consented to pay.

Thus after all his armaments and expectations, Philip saw himself disappointed of his prey, and perceived that the pope had over-reached him in this transaction.

C H A P. XXXIII.

MAGNA CHARTA SIGNED BY KING JOHN.

A. D. 1216.

THE English barons, fired with indignation at the meanness of their king, had recourse to arms, and demanded a re-establishment of the laws of Edward the Confessor, and a renewal of the Charta of Henry the First; which being refused by the king, they elected Robert Fitzwalter for their general, whom they dignified with the titles of "Mareschal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church," and proceeded without further ceremony to make war upon the king. They besieged Northampton, they took Bedford, they were joyfully received into London. They wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen, who had not yet declared in their favour, and menaced their estates with devastation, in case of refusal or delay.

In the mean time, the timid king was left at a place called Odiham in Surry, with a mean retinue of only seven knights, where he vainly endeavoured to avert the storm, by the mediation of his bishops and ministers. He appealed to archbishop Langton against these fierce remonstrants, little suspecting that the primate himself was leagued against him. He desired him to fulminate the thunders of the church upon those who had taken arms against their prince; and aggravated the impiety of their opposition, as he was engaged in the pious and noble duties of the crusade. Langton permitted the tyrant to waste his passions in empty complaints, and declared he would not pass any censure where he found no delinquent. He promised, indeed

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that much might be done, in case some foreign auxiliaries, which John had lately brought over, were dismissed; and the weak prince, supposing his advice sincere, disbanded a great body of Germans and Flemings, whom he had retained in his service.

When the king had thus left himself without protection, he then thought it was the duty of Langton to perform his promise; and to give him the aid of the church, since he had discarded all temporal assistance. But what was his surprize, when the archbishop refused to excommunicate a single baron, but peremptorily opposed his commands. John, stung with resentment and regret, knew not where to turn for advice or comfort. As he had hitherto sported with the happiness of mankind, he found none that did not secretly rejoice in his sufferings. He now began to think that any terms were to be complied with; and that it was better to reign a limited prince, than sacrifice his crown, and perhaps his life, to ambition. But first he offered to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself, and four by the confederates. This the barons scornfully rejected. He then assured them that he would submit at discretion; and that it was his supreme pleasure to grant all their demands. A conference was accordingly appointed, and all things adjusted for this most important treaty.

The ground where the king's commissioners met the barons, was between Staines and Windsor, at a place called Runimede, still held in reverence by posterity, as the spot, where the standard of freedom was first erected in England. There the barons appeared, with a vast number of knights and warriors, on the fifteenth day of June, while those on the king's part came a day or two after.

Both sides encamped apart, like open enemies. The debates between power and precedent are generally but of short continuance. The barons, determined on carrying their aims, would admit of few abatements;

and the king's agents being for the most part in their interests, few debates ensued. After some days, the king, with a facility that was somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter required of him; a charter which continues in force to this day, and is that famous bulwark of English liberty, which now goes by the name of **MAGNA CHARTA**.

This famous deed, either granted or secured very important privileges to those orders of the kingdom, who were already possessed of freedom, namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen; as for the inferior, and the greatest part of the people, they were still held as slaves, and it was long before they could come to a participation of legal protection.

C H A P. XXXIV.

OF EDWARD THE FIRST, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TITLE OF PRINCE OF WALES.

EDWARD I came to the throne of England A. D. 1272. He was crowned on his return from Palestine, where, with only 10,000 Englishmen, he struck a general panic into the Saracens. He narrowly escaped being murdered there by an assassin, from whom he received a wound in his arm, which was given by a poisoned dagger; and it is affirmed that he owed his life to the affection of Eleanor, his queen, who was with him, and sucked the venom out of the wound.

He was a brave and politic prince, and being perfectly well acquainted with the laws, interests, and constitution of his kingdom, the wisdom and policy of his regulations have justly given him the title of the English Justinian.

He

He granted certain privileges to the cinque-ports, which, though now very inconsiderable, were then obliged to attend the king when he went beyond sea, with fifty-seven ships, each having twenty armed soldiers on board, and to maintain them at their own costs for the space of fifteen days.

Edward having defeated and killed Llewellyn, a petty king of Wales, who had revolted, afterward summoned a parliament at Ruthen, where it was resolved, that Wales should be inseparably united to England. But some of the Welch nobles telling the king, that he would never peaceably enjoy their country, till they were governed by a prince of their own nation, he sent for his Queen, who was then pregnant, to lie in at Caernarvon, where she was brought to bed of a prince, whom the states of Wales acknowledged for their sovereign; and, since that time, the eldest sons of the kings of England have borne the title of Prince of Wales.

Soon after this, queen Eleanor died at Grantham, in Lincolnshire; to whose memory the king erected a cross at every place where the corpse rested in the way to Westminster.

CHAP. XXXV.

ON THE HEROISM OF SIR WILLIAM WALLACE,
THE CELEBRATED SAVIOUR OF NORTH-BRITAIN FROM THE TYRANNY OF EDWARD I,
OF ENGLAND.

AMONG the many valuable and masterly productions with which our Scotch writers are daily immortalizing their own names, and enriching the learned world,

whence is it that the heroes of that philosophical and classical people are so generally left to be celebrated by foreigners? The illustrious Wallace in particular, whose martial achievements must have distinguished him in the most rapid and splendid periods of Grecian or Roman story, owes but little of his deathless fame to his countrymen. His power and success while alive, they treated with malignant jealousy and distrust, nor embalmed his memory when dead with any of those exalted honours so eminently his due. He is to this day the idol of the vulgar, who still take fire at the very mention of his name: but they alone have the gratitude to retain a suitable impression of his worth. Their historians at least relate his exploits with such a dull and frigid timidity and diffidence, that, were it not for the fidelity of the English, who had so much cause to regret his existence, all we now know of his character and conduct might still have been imputed rather to the ebullitions of national pride, than the genuine records of history.

What are the annals of society in a state of infancy, but cruelty and carnage in detail? And no nation in its first stages ever struggled with more barbarism than Scotland. In this northern part of the island, it is hard to say, whether the claims of tyranny or the exertions of independence were then most obstinate and ferocious; for there is no situation in which liberty is not still held as the sacred prerogative of humanity. Here the feudal system effected a long inveterate establishment, and gave the great hereditary families a permanency and influence more like that of independent princes than tributary subjects. They were all, by some means or other, less or more related to royalty; and the death of almost every king produced a civil war by their opposite and various claims. Alexander the Third left his crown a prey to no less than twelve competitors. To save their country from impending horrors, it was agreed to submit their differences to arbitration. Edward the First, of England, was pitched on for settling the contest,

as his power and situation enabled him to support the sentence he should pronounce. That crafty and sagacious prince resolved by this circumstance to secure to England the homage of Scotland, so often insisted on as an incontestible right, and always refused as an unjust pretension. These proposals, however, were rejected with scorn by the whole nation. Baliol only was mean enough to accept the vacant throne on such ignominious terms: but he soon repented his conduct, and, by publicly renouncing a fidelity thus shamefully extorted, regained his lost honour, at the expence of his friendship who put the crown on his head. This unexpected step highly incensed the king of England, who immediately abandoned Guienne to the victorious arms of France, that he might wreak his vengeance in the final reduction of Scotland. He then laid siege to Berwick, but met with an obstinate and brave resistance. Here his cunning was of more service to him than either the force or number of his army. He industriously spread a report, that a strong party had assembled, and were coming for the relief of the town, and hastily, as if intimidated on that account, raised the siege; but when sufficiently distant not to be discovered, he put up Scotch colours, and advanced with all the confidence of friendship. The garrison, deceived by this stratagem, hastened to meet their deliverers. They were scarcely got out, when they were cut to pieces by the English, who, rushing into the town, gave a loose to all the sanguinary instigations of the blackest and fellest revenge. From this horrid and infamous scene, Edward marched to Dunbar. He met the enemy on his march, and attacked them. From the high spirits of a victorious army, and the general despondency of a divided army, this bloody battle, not very glorious to England, became fatal to Scotland, whose king was taken prisoner, confined in the Tower of London, and forced to renounce his right to the crown in Edward's favour.

This partial conquest greatly elated the English, who

now regarded those as their slaves who had long been their rivals. Edward, who wished to make a mere province of Scotland, avoided the ceremony of a coronation. But he made himself master of all the strong holds he had occasion for, secured those whom he suspected, and changed or annihilated the laws or records that thwarted his views. Such arbitrary proceedings only exasperated the Scots to spurn the impositions of a tyrant they hated, and wait for a proper opportunity of re-asserting their independence. And now was the time that Sir William Wallace emerged from obscurity, and fired the breasts of his countrymen with an ardour and intrepidity in the cause of liberty, that would have done honour to a more enlightened age.

All the fine talents of this very great man were singularly popular and commanding. He united to a valour which never shrunk from perils, a strength of body that excited universal admiration. His patriotism was a generous attachment to the rights of humanity, and his temper as honest and candid as his dignity was unassumed. There was something uncommonly open, agreeable, and inviting in his aspect. The very sight of him was sufficient to give confidence in whatever he undertook. His mien was manly and majestic, his carriage graceful and genteel, and his every look and gesture lively and significant. He had a mind equally capacious and penetrating, superior to danger, and desirous of glory; a heart warmly attached to honour, and smitten with the love of heroism; a disposition fit to gain partisans and to keep them; the talent of imparting energy and conviction with every word he said; the sciences to perfection, and a taste for combats; a genius for stratagem and enterprize equal to every risk, and avoiding no difficulty that required only personal exertion and address to surmount; the art of sustaining with cheerfulness and serenity, and of softening to others, the heaviest disasters; a constancy which received additional strength from what made the most resolute despair.

spair; and a disinterestedness which his rivals, and even his enemies would have been ashamed to suspect. Not in the most trying exigence did ever his characteristic magnanimity and firmness of mind once forsake him. He was tall of stature, remarkably well proportioned, and, by habits of temperance and an athletic make, capable of bearing more fatigues, and the various extremes of hunger and grief, than any other man. All his exploits were planned and executed with a spirit, precision, and promptitude, that struck his adversaries with astonishment, and exceeded the highest expectations of his friends: and his dangers were so imminent, his escapes so many, narrow, and miraculous, and his numberless successes so sudden and unexampled, that the whole of his public conduct seemed but one continued series of extraordinary events. Those who would depreciate his well-earned fame, impeach him of ambition: and undoubtedly, if to do the greatest actions without the least sinister design, be a mark of ambition, no man was ever more ambitious than Wallace: but his love for his country was at the same time so extremely pure and prevalent, that his very enemies could not help seeing and admiring it.

To the glorious and captivating standard of liberty, thus set up and sustained by one so well qualified for this important post, the people assembled from every quarter. Still smarting under recent oppression, and hourly threatened with more, they heard of a deliverer with rapture, and imbibed his sentiments with enthusiasm. This was an age and scene of heroism where one hero created thousands. Every heart bled and boiled with resentment for the most important and lasting injuries. All who felt in them any bent or talent for great things, resorted to Wallace, embraced his fate with cheerfulness, and fought by his side with confidence. His first success facilitated new advantages by encreasing the good opinion of his followers, and rendering the service tempting and reputable. His extreme care to commit

no mistake himself, and to improve by those of his enemies, soon gained him such a decided superiority, as equally roused and alarmed both parties. Like a torrent, which the banks thrown up to oppose only make the more impetuous, his courage and address generally acquired additional eclat from the incidents that seemed to threaten their extinction. In a short time, Scotland saw herself purged of the vermin that devoured her, and the menacing conquerors driven like wolves reluctantly from the prey they had seized. The man who wrought their salvation was honoured with the regency of the kingdom: but high titles, which terminate the labours of others, were only the beginning of his. No sooner had he freed, than he determined to revenge his country; and England promised a very large booty to the shoals of needy and desperate adventurers who now more than ever followed his victorious colours.

Unfortunately for Wallace, he had to contend against a general of eminent abilities, whose genius and resources were always ready and fertile. Edward was well prepared for the reception of this formidable and hostile invasion. He led his forces himself against Wallace, who, besides the English army, had the envy and jealousy of the Scotch nobility to combat. This wonderful man was in their eyes unpardonable, only for doing what they ought to have done. It is the curse of mean minds never to forgive the superiority of those who excel them. To defeat him in this glorious career, and blast the fruit of all his victories, these invidious chieftains obliged him to admit two of their number to a share in the command; for he could relinquish with the same greatness of mind that he obtained his power. The English availed themselves of these dissensions, and, without waiting for the Scots, rushed on to the attack. Unanimity will always succeed against those who are
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without it; the Scots, by consequence, fell into confusion, and were most of them slain or captured. The division under Wallace, notwithstanding this disaster, kept the victors at bay. His prowess and address on that occasion saved indeed his companions, but increased the envy of his competitors. He had shewn in the heat of action all the valour of a soldier. He made a retreat that would have done honour to the greatest captain. Even in his defeat he was formidable to his enemies, and exposed himself to the further machinations of those who envied him. To appease them, and unite his countrymen in one great interesting object, he willingly resigned the command, though his great popularity and success might have well authorized his retaining it to the last. But true dignity is never more amiable and illustrious than in acts of condescension, and Wallace is one of the few memorable characters, who after having governed the state with glory and success, modestly returned to the rank of a subject. Some alledge, that it was because he despaired of rescuing Scotland from a dependence on England. It is obvious, he thought his occupying so high a department was the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of this desirable event; so that he generously made a sacrifice of his elevation, with all its honours and emoluments, for the public good.

This singular hero and warrior had no longer the splendour and authority which great power and pre-eminence bestow: but no reverse of fortune could divest him of the consequence which follows, in the inmost recesses of obscurity, exemplary merit. His great qualities, and especially his unbounded goodness of heart, continually kept or drew about him all who chose rather to die free than live slaves. With this gallant troop of companions and friends, superior alike to menaces and caresses, the intrepid outlaw

oftener than once, made England and her tyrant tremble. The fortune of Scotland varied according to the courage and abilities of the new regents. Wallace was always and every where invincible. Treachery at length accomplished what hatred, boldness, and strength combined could not: he was ignominiously betrayed and sold to the English, who, to their eternal disgrace, put to death a true Scotsman, who never acknowledged their king as his master. The dastardly punishment he suffered is a pointed sarcasm on their boasted national generosity, but did not degrade him from ranking with the greatest of heroes. A man always dies gloriously, who dies for his country. There is not a more infallible method of securing immortality; and the life and death of this most exemplary patriot are both monuments to his glory that must last for ever.

CH A P. XXXVI.

OF THE SWISS CANTONS.

THE inhabitants of Switzerland are the descendants of the ancient Helvetii, subdued by Julius Cæsar. Their mountainous, uninviting situation, formed a better security for their liberties, than their forts or armies; and the same is the case at present. They continued long under little better than a nominal subjection to the Burgundians and Germans, till about the year 1300, when the Emperor Albert treated them with so much rigour, that they petitioned him against the cruelty of his governors. This served only to redouble the hardships of the people; and

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one of Albert's Austrian governors, Grissler, in the wantonness of tyranny, set up a hat on a pole, to which he ordered the natives to pay as much respect as to himself. One William Tell, being observed to pass frequently without taking notice of the hat, and being an excellent marksman, the tyrant condemned him to be hanged, unless he cleft an apple upon his son's head, at a certain distance, with an arrow. Tell had the dexterity to cleave the apple, though the distance was very considerable, without hitting the child. The tyrant perceiving that he had another arrow concealed under his cloak, asked him for what purpose? To which he boldly replied, "To have shot you to the heart, if I had had the misfortune to kill my son."

The enraged governor ordered him to be imprisoned. He soon made his escape; and his fellow citizens, animated by his fortitude and patriotism, flew to arms, attacked and vanquished Grissler, who was shot to death by Tell, and the independency of the several states of this country, now called the Thirteen Cantons under a republican form of government, took place immediately; which was perpetuated by a league among themselves, in the year 1315; and confirmed by treaty with the other powers of Europe, 1649. Seven of these Cantons are Roman Catholics, and six Protestants.

Whether all the incidents of Tell's story be true or fabulous, the men (whoever they were) who roused and incited their fellow citizens to throw off the Austrian yoke, deserve to be regarded as patriots, having undoubtedly been actuated by that principle, so dear to every generous heart, the spirit of independence.

CHAP. XXXVII.

OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

EDWARD III mounted the throne in 1327. He was then under the tuition of his mother, who cohabited with Mortimer; and they endeavoured to keep possession of their power, by executing many popular measures, and putting an end to all national differences with Scotland. Edward, young as he was, was soon sensible of their designs. He surprised them in person at the head of a few chosen friends, in the castle of Nottingham. Mortimer was ignominiously put to a public death, and the queen herself was confined for life.

It was not long before Edward found means to quarrel with David, king of Scotland, who had married his sister, and who was driven to France by Edward Baliol, who acted as Edward's tributary king, and general.

Soon after, upon the death of Charles the Fair, king of France (without issue) who had succeeded by virtue of the Salic law, which the French pretended cut off all female succession to that crown, Philip of Valois claimed it, as being the next heir male by succession; but he was opposed by Edward, as being the son of Isabella, who was sister to the three late Kings of France, and first in the female succession. The former was preferred, but the case being doubtful, Edward pursued his claim, and invaded France with a powerful army.

On this occasion, the vast difference between the feudal constitutions of France, which were then in full force, and the government of England, more favour-

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able to public liberty, appeared. The French officers knew no subordination. They and their men were equally undisciplined and disobedient, though far more numerous than their enemies in the field. The English freemen, on the other hand, having now vast property to fight for, which they could call their own, independant of a feudal law, knew its value, and had learned to defend it, by providing themselves with proper armour, and submitting to military exercises, and proper subordination in the field. The war, on the part of Edward, was therefore a continued scene of success and victory.

CH A P. XXXVIII.

THE BATTLES OF CRESSY AND POICTIERS.

AT Cressy, in 1346, Edward defeated the French army consisting of 100,000 men, chiefly by the valour of the prince of Wales, who was but sixteen years of age, though the English did not exceed 30,000.

In this engagement, thirty thousand of the French were killed upon the field; and, among this number were John king of Bohemia, James king of Majorca, Ralph duke of Lorrain, nine counts, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, and four thousand men at arms.

There is something remarkable in the fate of the Bohemian monarch; who though blind, was yet willing to share in the engagement. This unfortunate prince, enquiring the fate of the day, was told that all was lost, and his son Charles obliged to retire desperately wounded; and that the prince of Wales bore

bore down every thing before him. Having received this information, blind as he was, he commanded his knights to lead him into the hottest part of the battle against the young warrior. Accordingly, four of them rushed with him into the thickest part of the enemy, where they were all quickly slain.

The whole French army took flight, and were put to the sword by the pursuers without mercy, till night stopped the carnage. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed, " My valiant son, continue as you have begun; you have acquitted yourself nobly, and are worthy of the kingdom that will be your inheritance." The next morning was foggy, and a party of the militia of Rouen coming to join the French army, were routed by the English at the first onset. Many more also were decoyed by some French standards, which the victors placed upon the mountains, and to which the fugitives resorted, where they were cut in pieces without mercy.

Never was a victory more seasonable, or less boody to the English than this. Notwithstanding the great slaughter of the enemy, the conquerors lost but one esquire; three knights, and a few of inferior rank.

The crest of the king of Bohemia was three ostrich feathers, with this motto, Ich Dien; which signifies, in the German language, I serve. This was thought to be a proper prize to perpetuate the victory; and it was accordingly added to the arms of the prince of Wales, and it has been adopted by all his successors.

The battle of Poitiers was fought in 1356, between the prince of Wales, and the French king John, but with greatly superior advantages of numbers on the part of the French, who were totally defeated, and their king, and his favourite son Philip, taken prisoners. It is thought that the number of French

French killed in this battle, was double that of all the English army ; but the modesty and politeness with which the prince treated his royal prisoners, formed the brightest wreath in his garland.

Historians relate, that the English first employed cannon in these memorable battles ; and declare that the French were not as yet acquainted with it. Their extraordinary success is partly imputed to the surprise which the novelty of those tremendous messengers of death occasioned.

C H A P. XXXIX.

DAVID, KING OF SCOTLAND, IS TAKEN PRISONER.

WHILE Edward was reaping victories upon the Continent, the Scots ever willing to embrace a favourable opportunity of rapine and revenge, invaded the frontiers of England with a numerous army, headed by David Bruce, their king. This unexpected invasion at such a juncture, alarmed the English, but was not capable of intimidating them. Lionel, Edward's son, who was left guardian of England during his father's absence, was yet too young to take upon him the command of an army. But the victories on the Continent seemed to inspire even women with valour. Philippa, Edward's queen, took upon her the conduct of the field, and prepared to repulse the enemy in person. Accordingly, having made Lord Percy general under her, she met the Scots at a place called Nevill's Cross, near Durham, and offered them battle.

The Scotch king was no less impatient to engage. He

He imagined that he might obtain an easy victory against undisciplined troops, and headed by a woman. But he was miserably deceived. His army was quickly routed, and driven from the field. Fifteen thousand of his men were cut to pieces ; and he himself, with many of his nobles and knights, were taken prisoners, and carried in triumph to London.

Thus Edward, on his return, had the pleasure to see two crowned heads his captives at London. Both kings were afterwards ransomed ; but John returned to England, and died at the palace of the Savoy.

CH A P. XL.

OF THE BUILDING OF WINDSOR CASTLE, AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

THE magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III, and his method of conducting that work, may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of alluring workmen by contracts and wages he assessed every county in England to send him so many masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army. Soldiers were enlisted only for a short time. They lived idle all the rest of the year, and commonly all the rest of their lives. One successful campaign, by pay and plunder, and the ransom of prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to a man ; which was a great allurement to enter into the service. The wages of a master carpenter was limited through the whole year to three-pence a day, and that of a common carpenter to two-pence.

Edward likewise instituted the order of the Garter, which

which is said to have had its rise from the Countess of Salisbury's dropping her garter at a ball, which the king taking up, presented to her, saying, *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*, " Evil to him who evil thinks ; " when observing several of the nobles smile, he added " Many a man has laughed at the garter, who will think it a very great honour to wear such a one."

CHAP. XLI.

OF THE OPINION WE ARE TO FORM OF
EDWARD'S CONQUESTS.

THE reign of Edward was rather brilliant, than truly serviceable to his subjects. If England, during these shining triumphs on the Continent, gained any real advantage, it was only that of having a spirit of honour and elegance diffused among the higher ranks of the people. In all conquests, something is gained in civil life from the people subdued ; and as France was at that time evidently more civilized than England, those imitative islanders, as they were then called, adopted the arts of the people they overcame. The meanest soldier in the English army now began to follow his leader from love, and not compulsion. He was brave from sentiment alone ; and had the honour of his country beating in his breast, even though in the humblest station. This was the time when chivalry was at its highest pitch ; and many of the successes of England were owing to that romantic spirit, which the king endeavoured to diffuse, and of which he was the most shining example. It was this spirit that, in some measure, served to soften the ferocity of the age ; being a mixture of love, generosity, and war. Instead of being

ing taught the sciences, the sons of the nobility were brought into the field, as soon as they were able, and instructed in no other arts but those of arms; such as the method of sitting on horseback, of wielding the lance, running at the ring, flourishing at a tournament, and addressing a mistress. To attain these, was considered as the sum of all human acquirements. And though war made their only study, yet the rules of tactics, encampments, stratagems, and fortifications, were almost totally disregarded.

CH A P. XLII.

OF WICKLIFFE, THE FIRST REFORMER.

IN the the latter end of Edward's reign, John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began to propagate his doctrines; and he has the honour of being the first person who had sagacity to see through the errors of the church of Rome, and courage enough to attempt a reformation.

He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the supremacy of the church of Rome, and the merit of monastic vows. He maintained that the Scriptures were the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependant on the state; that the clergy ought to possess no estates; and that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety. In short, most of his doctrines were such, as the wisdom of posterity thought fit to establish; and Wickliffe failed in being a reformer, only because the minds of men were not yet sufficiently ripened for the truths he endeavoured to inculcate.

The clergy of that age did not fail to oppose Wickliffe with fury. But as his doctrines were pleasing to the

higher orders of the laity, he found protection from their indignation. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was his particular friend and favourer; and when summoned to appear before the bishop of London, that nobleman attended him into the court, and defended him both from the resentment of the clergy, and the rage of the populace.

However, in process of time, he had the satisfaction to see the people, who were at first strongly prejudiced against him, entirely declaring in his favour; and although he was oftencited to appear before the prelates, yet, from the estimation he was held in, both among the higher and lower ranks of the laity, he was always dismissed without injury. In this manner he continued, during a long life, to lessen the credit of the clergy, both by his preaching and writings: and at last died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester; while the clergy took care to represent his death as a judgment from heaven, for his multiplied heresies and impieties.

C H A P. XLIII.

OF THE INSURRECTION OCCASIONED BY A POLL-TAX. A.D. 1379.

IN the reign of Richard II, a poll tax was passed, at twelve-pence per head, on all above the age of sixteen. This being levied with severity, caused an insurrection in Kent and Essex.

A blacksmith, well known by the name of Wat Tyler, was the first who excited the people to arms. The tax-gatherers coming to this man's house, while he was at work, demanded payment for his daughter, which
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he refused, alledging that she was under the age mentioned in the act. One of the brutal collectors insisted on her being a full grown woman; and immediately attempted giving a very indecent proof of his assertion. This provoked the father to such a degree, that he instantly struck him dead with a blow of his hammer. The standers-by applauded his spirit; and, one and all, resolved to defend his conduct. He was considered as a champion in the cause, and appointed the leader and spokesman of the people.

It is easy to imagine the disorders committed by this tumultuous rabble. The whole neighbourhood rose in arms, they burnt and pillaged wherever they came, and revenged upon their former masters all those insults which they had long sustained with impunity.

As the discontent was general, the insurgents increased in proportion as they approached the capital. The flame soon propagated itself into Kent, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. They were found to amount to above an hundred thousand men, by the time they were arrived at Blackheath; from whence they sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower, desiring a conference with him. With this message Richard was desirous of complying, but was intimidated by their fierce demeanour.

In the mean time, they had entered the city, burning and plundering the houses of such as were obnoxious, from their power, or remarkable for their riches. They broke into the Savoy palace, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, and put several of his attendants to death. Their animosity was particularly levelled against the lawyers, to whom they shewed no mercy.

Such was the vehemence of their fury, that the king began to tremble for his own safety; and, knowing that the tower was not capable of standing against an assault, he went out among them, and desired to know their demands. To this they made a very humble remonstrance, requiring

requiring a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns, and a fixed rent, instead of those services required by the tenure of the villenage.

As these requests were reasonable, the king soon complied; and charters were accordingly made out, ratifying the grant. In the mean time, another body of these insurgents had broke into the tower, and murdered the chancellor, the primate, and the treasurer, with some other officers of distinction. They then divided themselves into bodies, and took up their quarters in different parts of the city.

At the head of one of these was Wat Tyler, who led his men into Smithfield, where he was met by the king, who invited him to a conference, under a pretence of hearing and redressing his grievances. Tyler ordering his companions to retire, till he should give them a signal, boldly ventured to meet the king in the midst of his retinue; and accordingly began the conference.

The demands of this demagogue are censured by all the historians of the time, as insolent and extravagant; and yet nothing can be more just than those they have delivered for him. He required that all slaves should be set free; that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as the rich, and that a general pardon should be passed for the late outrages. Whilst he made these demands, he now and then lifted up his sword in a menacing manner; which insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, then mayor of London, attending on the king, that, without considering the danger to which he exposed his majesty, he stunned Tyler with a blow of his mace; while one of the king's knights riding up, dispatched him with his sword.

The mutineers seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves to take revenge; and their bows were now bent for execution, when Richard, though not yet quite sixteen years

years of age, rode up to the rebels, and, with admirable presence of mind, cried out, "What, my people, will you then kill your king? Be not concerned for the lots of your leader, I myself will now be your general. Follow me into the field, and ye shall have whatever ye desire." The awed multitude immediately desisted. They followed the king as if mechanically, into the fields, and there he granted them the same charter, which he had before granted to their companions.

These grants, for a short time, gained the king great popularity; and it is probable it was his own desire to have them continued. But the nobles had long tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to admit any others to a participation. The parliament soon revoked these charters of enfranchisement and pardon. The low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before, and several of the ringleaders were punished with capital severity. The insurrections of the barons against their kings, are branded in history with no great air of invective; but the tumults of the people against the barons, are marked with all the virulence of reproach.

C H A P. XLIV.

OF HENRY THE FIFTH, OF ENGLAND.

HENRY V succeeded to the throne at 25 years of age, and was crowned at Westminster on the 9th of April, 1413. The next year commissioners were appointed for adjusting the disputes between the crowns of England and France. But Henry, seeing that nothing could be done by negotiation, resolved to have recourse to arms, when Chichely, archbishop of Canterbury, advised him to lay claim to the whole kingdom

kingdom of France, as the heir and successor of Edward III. This war was approved of by the parliament. He therefore demanded the crown of France as his right; upon which, the Dauphin, in contempt, sent him a present of a ton of tennis-balls, to let him know that he thought him fitter for play than for war. But Henry sent him word, that he would soon repay him with such balls, as the strongest gates of Paris should not be rackets sufficient to rebound.

Accordingly, in 1415, Henry embarked his army amounting to 50,000 men on board 1500 transports, and landed at Havre-de-Grâce, in Normandy, when he immediately laid siege to Harfleur, which surrendered in five weeks. Soon after which, the French, having assembled an army six times superior to the king's, challenged him to fight; and Henry accepted it, though the French army consisted of 150,000 men, and the English were reduced to 9000.

The French therefore made rejoicings in their camp, as if the English were already defeated, and even sent to Henry to know what he would give for his ransom. To which he replied, that a few hours would shew whose care it would be to make that provision.

The English, though fatigued with their march, and almost starved for want of food, were inspired by the example of their brave king, and resolved to conquer or die. In this situation, Henry sent David Gam, a Welch captain, to reconnoitre the enemy, who bravely reported, that "there were enow to be killed, enow to be taken prisoners, and enow to run away."

The king was encamped, October 25th, 1415, on a plain near Agincourt, and having drawn up his soldiers in two lines, he disposed them to so much advantage, and behaved with such extraordinary conduct and courage, that by the blessing of divine Providence,

vidence, whose assistance he publicly and solemnly implored before the action, by offering up prayers, and exhorting his troops to place all their trust in God, he gained a complete victory, after having been several times knocked down, and in the most imminent danger of losing his life. The English killed upwards of 10,000 men, and took more prisoners than they had men in the army.

Henry, who was as great a politician as a warrior, made such alliances, and divided the French among themselves so effectually, that he forced the queen of France, whose husband, Charles VI, was a lunatic, to agree to his marrying her daughter, the princess Catherine, to disinherit the Dauphin, and to declare Henry regent of France during her husband's life, and him and his issue successors to the French monarchy, which must at this time have been exterminated, had not the Scots furnished the Dauphin with vast supplies, and preserved the French crown for his head. Henry, however, made a triumphal entry into Paris, where the Dauphin was proscribed; and, after receiving the fealty of the French nobility, he returned to England to levy a force, which might crush the Dauphin and his Scotch auxiliaries. He probably would have been successful, had he not died of a pleuritic disorder, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conspicuous in the cabinet, and in the field. The boldness of his plans was no less remarkable, than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. Yet his reign was rather splendid than profitable. The treasures of the nation were lavished on conquests, which, even though they could have been maintained, would have proved injurious

jurious to the nation. Nevertheless he died fortunate, by falling in the midst of his victories, and leaving his subjects in the very height of his reputation.

The English triumphs, at this time, in France produced scarce any good effects at home. As they grew warlike, they became savage; and panting after foreign possessions, forgot the arts of cultivating those that lay nearer home.

Our language, instead of improving, was more neglected than before. Langland and Chaucer had begun to polish it, and enrich it with new and elegant constructions; but it was now seen to relapse into its former rudeness, and no poet or historian of note was born in this tempestuous period.

CH A P. XLV.

OF JOAN OF ARC, OR THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

NOTHING could be more deplorable than the situation of Charles VII, on assuming his title to the crown of France. The English were masters of almost all the country; and Henry VI, though yet but an infant, was solemnly invested with regal power by legates from Paris. The duke of Bedford was at the head of a numerous army, in the heart of the kingdom, ready to oppose every insurrection; while the duke of Burgundy, who had entered into a firm confederacy with him, still remained steadfast, and seconded his claims. The earl of Salisbury had invested Orleans, and when it was near being surrendered, a country girl, named Joan of Arc, who, in the station of servant to a small inn, had been accustomed to tend the horses of the

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guests,

guests, undertook to deliver France from the English. This girl, enflamed with the frequent accounts of the rencounters at the siege of Orleans, and affected with the distresses of her country, but more particularly with those of the youthful monarch, whose gallantry made him the idol of the softer sex, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign, in his present unhappy circumstances. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied she saw visions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders.

Having got herself introduced to the king, she offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed; and she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Firebois. The more the king and his ministers were determined to give into the illusion, the more scruples they pretended. An Assembly of grave doctors and theologians was appointed to examine Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. The parliament also attested her inspiration; and a jury of matrons declared her an unspotted virgin. Her requests were now granted. She was armed *cap-à-pée*, mounted on horseback, and shewn in that martial habiliment to the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former station, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission. Her former occupation was denied. She was converted into a shepherdess, an employment more agreeable to the imagination, than that of ostler-wench. Ten years were subtracted from her age, in order to excite still more admiration, and she was received with the loudest acclamations by persons of all ranks. A ray of hope began to burst through that despair, in which the minds

of

men were involved. Heaven had now declared itself in favour of France, and laid bare its outstretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

CH A P. XLVI.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS OBLIGES THE ENGLISH TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF THAT CITY, AND CONDUCTS CHARLES TO RHEIMS, IN ORDER TO BE CROWNED.

THE English at first affected to speak with derision of the Maid and her heavenly commission; but their imagination was secretly struck with the strong persuasion, which prevailed in all around them. They found their courage daunted by degrees, and thence began to infer a divine vengeance hanging over them. A silent astonishment reigned among those troops, formely so elated with victory, and so fierce for the combat.

The Maid entered the city of Orleans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard. She was received as a celestial deliverer by the garrison and inhabitants; and by the instructions of count Dunois, commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, she actually obliged the English to raise the siege of the city, after defeating them in several attacks.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promise to Charles; the crowning him at Rheims was the other: And she now vehemently insisted, that he should set out immediately on that enterprize. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims

lay in a distant quarter of the kingdom. It was then in the hands of a victorious enemy. The whole road which led to it, was occupied by their garrisons; and no imagination could have been so sanguine, as to hope that such an attempt could possibly be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the interest of Charles to maintain the belief of something extraordinary and divine in these events, he resolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike prophets, and to avail himself of the present consternation of the English. He accordingly set out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men; and scarcely perceived, as he passed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. Every place opened its gates to him. Rheims sent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is said to have brought from Heaven to Clovis, on the first establishment of the French monarchy.

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects; and he seemed to derive, from a heavenly commission, a new title to their allegiance. Many places submitted to him immediately after his coronation; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of duty and affection.

C H A P. XLVII.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS IS TAKEN PRISONER BY
THE ENGLISH, AND PUT TO DEATH.

THE Maid of Orleans, after the coronation of Charles, declared that her mission was now accomplished, and expressed her inclination to retire to the occupations and course of life which became her sex. But the French officers, sensible of the great advantage which might still be reaped from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere till the final expulsion of the English. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into a town, besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The garrison, on her appearance, believed themselves invincible : but their joy was of short duration : the Maid was taken prisoner in a sally ; and the duke of Bedford, resolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty, by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of all these crimes, aggravated by heresy. Her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil, to delude the people ; and this admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by that dreadful punishment, the signal services which she had rendered to her prince, and her native country. The affairs of the English, however, instead of being advaced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay.

C H A P. XLVIII.

OF THE MURDER OF EDWARD V, AND HIS BROTHER.

AS Edward, when he came to the throne, was only thirteen years of age, his uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester, was appointed protector of the kingdom during his minority. But the citizens of London offering him the crown, he accepted of it, having first put to death all the nobility and great men, whom he thought to be well affected to the late king's family.

One crime ever draws on another; justice will revolt against fraud, and usurpation requires security. As soon, therefore, as Richard was seated upon the throne, he sent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death. But this brave man, whose name was Brackenbury, refused to be made the instrument of a tyrant's will, and submissively answered, that he knew not how to mbrue his hands in innocent blood. A fit instrument, however, was not long wanting. Sir James Tyrrel readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered to resign to him the keys for one night. He chose three associates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a sound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they

they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stair case, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. These facts appeared in the succeeding reign, being confessed by the perpetrators, who, however, escaped punishment for the crime. The bodies of the princes were afterwards sought for by Henry VII, but could not be found. But in the reign of Charles II, the bones of two persons, answering their age, were found in the very spot where it was said they were buried. They were interred in a marble monument, by order of the King, in Westminster Abbey.

CHAP. XLIX.

**RICHARD THE THIRD IS DEFEATED AND KILLED
BY HENRY THE SEVENTH. A. D. 1483.**

RICHARD had now waded through every obstacle to the throne; and began, after the manner of all usurpers, to strengthen his ill-gotten power by foreign connections. Sensible also of the influence of pageantry and show upon the minds of the people, he caused himself to be crowned first at London, and afterwards at York. The clergy he endeavoured to secure by great indulgences; and his friends, by bestowing rewards on them, in proportion as they were instrumental in placing him on the throne.

But the earl of Richmond, who still remained in France, carried on a secret correspondence with the friends of Edward the Fourth, and by offering to marry his eldest daughter, he was encouraged to in-

vade England, at the head of about 2000 foreign troops ; but they were soon joined by 7000 English and Welch. A battle between him and Richard, who was at the head of 15,000 men, ensued at Bosworth Field, near Leicester.

Richard, descrying his rival at no great distance, attempted to decide the victory by one blow ; and, with irresistible fury, flew through thousands to attack him. He killed, with his own hand, Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl. He dismounted Sir John Cheyney ; and he was within reach of the earl himself, who declined not the combat, when Sir William Stanley broke in between them, and surrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he still maintained the combat ; and at last sunk amid heaps of slain who had fallen by his arm.

A life so infamous, it has been said by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit so glorious a death. But every man, surely, merits what his qualities enable him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirsty tyrant ; but he was brave ; and he died, as a brave man should, with his sword in his hand. He was brave to the last. It would have been, indeed, a matter of regret, had he died in his bed, after disturbing so cruelly the repose of mankind. But his death was sufficiently violent to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

This battle was entirely decisive ; the king not only being slain, but the whole royal army totally routed and dispersed. The victorious troops, in a transport of joy, bestowed on their general the appellation of king ; and “ Long live Henry the Seventh,” was resounded from all quarters with repeated acclamations.

In order to give some kind of form to this military election, the ornamental crown which Richard wore

wore in battle, was placed upon Henry's head; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, which took place soon after, united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster.

Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had sat upwards of three hundred years upon the throne of England; and thus the civil wars, which had so long desolated the kingdom. A. D. 1483.

CH A P. L:

OF THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

THE first permanent step towards the revival of letters in Europe, was the erection of schools, under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charlemagne, those early luminaries of the modern world, had shed a temporary lustre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and some gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promising dawn did not arrive at perfect day.

The schools erected by these great monarchs were entirely confined to the churches and monasteries, and monks were almost the only instructors of youth. The contracted ideas of such men, partly arising from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, made them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon; and genius again sunk in the gloom of superstition. A long night of ignorance succeeded. Learning was

considered as dangerous to true piety, and darkness was necessary to hide the usurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themselves on the ruins of the civil power.

The ancient poets and orators were represented as seducers to the path of destruction. Virgil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiously elated with the talent of heathenish reasoning. Aristotle's logic alone was recommended, because it was found capable of involving the simplest arguments, and of perplexing the plainest truths. It became the universal science. And Europe, for almost three centuries, produced no composition that can arrest the curiosity of a classical enquirer. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of scripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period.

But the gloom at last began to disappear, and the sceptre of knowledge was wrested from the hand of superstition. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth, about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterwards in those of France, England, and Germany. Instruction was communicated in a more rational manner. More numerous, and more useful branches of science were taught. A taste for ancient literature was revived; and some Latin poems were written, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire.

The human soul seems, at this period, to have roused itself, as from a lethargy. The same enthusiasm which prompted one set of men to signalize their valour in the Holy Land, inspired another with the ardour of transmitting to posterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of
those

those pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures of former Christian heroes. These performances were composed in verse; and several of them with much elegance, and no small degree of imagination. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taste of the age was too rude to relish the beauties of classical composition. The Latin language, in which all science was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the scarcity of parchment, together with the expence of transcribing, rendered books so extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few.

Learning, however, continued to advance, in spite of every obstruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth*, made knowledge so general within a century after, that Italy began to compare in arts and letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X, with that of the second Cæsar.

* In the year 1430, Laurentius, of Harleim, invented the art of printing, which he practised with separate wooden types. Gutenberg, afterwards invented cut metal types. But the art was carried to perfection by Peter Schoeffer, who invented the mode of casting the types in matrices. Frederic Corfellis began to print at Oxford, in 1468, with wooden types; but it was William Caxton who introduced into England the art of printing with loose types, A. D. 1474.

C H A P. LI.

THE FEMALE CHARACTER ASSUMED NEW CONSEQUENCE, UPON THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

WOMEN, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic conveniency. They were devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity. They had few attentions paid them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation, as in the general commerce of life.

But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the softer sex, even in their native forests, had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with them the respectful gallantry of the North, which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity; and they introduced into the West of Europe, a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance toward the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by the institution of chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its **PRIMUM**

MOBILE.

MOBILE. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant of some lady, and that lady was often the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour. For her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he shed his blood. Courage, animated by so powerful a motive, lost sight of every thing but enterprize. Incredible toils were cheerfully endured; incredible actions were performed; and adventures, seemingly fabulous, were more than realized.

The thirst was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroism which they had inspired. They were not to be approached, but by the high-minded and the brave; and men then could only be admitted to the bosom of the chaste fair, after proving their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril.

C H A P. LII.

OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN ENGLAND, ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE English court was, at that time, the most splendid in Europe, and one of the most polished. Thither many accomplished foreigners resorted, to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty of the third Edward. The spoils of France swelled the pomp of England; while a captive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilized its manners, by accustoming

accustoming its haughty and insolent barons to the exercise of mutual complaisance.

Edward himself, and his illustrious son, the Black Prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courtesy. They were the patrons and the mirrors of chivalry. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were constantly exhibited; and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

The ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crowded to such spectacles, arrayed in the richest habits, were the judges in those peaceful, though not always bloodless combats. And the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his prowess, became desirous of exciting other passions, besides that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aspired at an interest in the seat of the affections. Instead of the cold consent of virtue, he sought the warm return of love. Instead of acquiescence, he demanded sensibility.

Female pride was roused at such a request. Affiduities and attentions were employed to soothe it; and nature and custom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breast of women.

During the course of this sentimental struggle, which had its rise in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened more freedom of intercourse, and terminated in our present familiar manners, the two sexes mutually polished each other; the men acquired more softness and address, the women more knowledge and graces.

C H A P. LIII.

OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION.

AFTER that enormous privilege, which the Roman pontiff assumed, of disposing of crowns, and of releasing nations from their oath of allegiance, the most pernicious to society was that of absolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the successor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the spiritual treasury of the church, supposed to contain the super-abounding good works of the saints, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ. Out of the inexhaustible storehouse of super-abundant merit, his holiness might retail, at pleasure, particular portions to those who were deficient. He assumed, in short, and directly exercised, the right of pardoning sins; which was, in other words, granting a permission to commit them. For if it is known, as had long been the case in the Romish church, at what price any crime may be bought off, the encouragement to vice is the same, as if a dispensation had been granted beforehand. And even that was frequently practised.

The influence of such an abuse upon morals, may easily be imagined; particularly in ages when superstition had silenced the voice of conscience, and reason was bewildered in Gothic darkness; when the church had every where provided sanctuaries, which not only screened from the arm of the civil magistrate, persons guilty of the greatest enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence.

These indulgences, or plenary pardons, which not only served as a remission of sins to the living, but as a release to the dead from the punishment of purgatory, were first invented by Urban II, as a recompence for those who engaged in the wild expedition to the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to such as contributed money for that, or any other pious purpose; and the sums so raised were frequently diverted to other uses. They were employed to swell the state, to furnish the luxuries, or accomplish the ambitious enterprizes of the popes.

Leo the Tenth, that great patron of arts and of letters, having exhausted the papal treasury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and expensive pleasures, thought that he might employ, without danger, those pious frauds so successfully practised by the most ignorant of his predecessors. Accordingly he published a general sale of indulgences.

If any thing could apologize for a religious cheat, which tends to the subversion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in building that superb temple, the church of St. Peter, founded by his predecessor; and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occasion to forge pretences for this extension of papal authority. But Leo, though a polite scholar, and a fine gentleman, was but a pitiful pope. Liberal-minded himself, and surrounded by liberal-minded men, he did not foresee that the lamp of knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of superstition, would shew them her errors, her impostures, her usurpations, and their own slavish condition. He did not reflect, that impositions practised with success in one age, may prove a dangerous experiment in another. But he had soon occasion to remember it.

C H A P.

C H A P. LIV.

LUTHER WRITES AND PREACHES AGAINST
INDULGENCES. A. D. 1517.

THE abuse of the sale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in ale-houses, and where the produce of particular districts was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or custom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, and professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg. Luther was also incensed, it is said, that the privilege of vending this spiritual merchandise had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. But, be that as it may, he wrote and he preached against indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his discourses were listened to with admiration.

He appealed to reason and scripture for the truth of his arguments, not to the decisions of councils, or of popes. A corner of the veil was now opened. The people, ever fond of judging for themselves, (and in matters which concern themselves only, they have an undoubted right) flattered by this appeal, began to call in question that authority which they had formerly revered, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by success, extended his views, and ventured to declaim against other abuses. From abuses he proceeded to usurpations; from usurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romish church began to totter.

Leo, in the mean time, alarmed at the progress
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of this daring innovator, had summoned him to answer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the intercession of Frederic, surnamed the Wise, Elector of Saxony, who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cause was ordered to be tried in Germany, by cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and the pope's legate at the Imperial court. For this end, among others, Cajetan attended the diet at Augsburg; and thither Luther repaired without hesitation, after having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, though he had good reason to decline a judge, chosen from among his avowed adversaries.

The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured, at first, to gain him by gentle treatment. But finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was vested, to retract his errors, without shewing that they were such, and to abstain for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions.

Luther, who had flattered himself with a hearing, and hoped to distinguish himself in a dispute with a prelate of such eminent abilities, was much mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not forsake him. He boldly replied, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true, but offered to submit the whole controversy to the judgment of the learned, naming certain universities.

This offer was rejected by Cajetan, who still insisted on a simple recantation; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, secretly withdrew from Augsburg, and returned to his own country.

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The dispute was now carried on by writing on either side. Luther, though opposed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, supported his cause singly, and with success. As the controversy was new, his ignorance of many parts of the subjects was not greater than their's; and as he wrote, they answered still worse. Opinions are implanted upon the minds of mankind, rather by confidence and perseverance, than by strength of reasoning, or beauty of diction; and no man had more confidence or more perseverance than he. In vain did the pope issue out his bulls against him; in vain did the Dominican friars procure his writings to be burnt; he boldly abused the Dominicans, and burnt the pope's bull in the streets of Wittemberg,

CH A P. LV.

OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

HENRY VIII was born at Greenwich, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491, and succeeded his father, Henry VII, on the twenty-second of April, 1509, in the eighteenth year of his age.

Soon after his accession, he passed over into France, and took Tournay, and some other places. In the mean time, king James of Scotland invaded England, but was defeated at the famous battle of Floddenfield, when king James, many nobles, and 9000 common soldiers, were slain.

Henry, having received the education of a scholar, was consequently instructed in school-divinity, which was then the principal object of learned enquiry.

enquiry. Being, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities in that science, he obtained the pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven sacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and shewed some dexterity in this science, though it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him.

A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome, for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to suppose would not be withheld. The pontiff, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome, or St. Augustine; and rewarded the author with the title of **DEFENDER OF THE FAITH**; little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

About the year 1527, Henry began to have some scruples with regard to the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow, which, perhaps, were excited by a motive much more powerful than the tacit suggestions of his conscience.

It happened among the maids of honour, then attending the queen, there was one Anna Bullen, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, a gentleman of distinction, and related to most of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anna surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court: and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive; her stature elegant, though below the middle size, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements.

Henry, who had never learned the art of restrain-
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ing any passion which he desired to gratify, saw and loved her. But after several efforts to induce her to comply with his criminal desires, he found, that without marriage, he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardly undertook to remove; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him, in order to procure a divorce, he alledged that his conscience rebuked him, for having so long lived in incest with the wife of his brother. It is pretty evident, however, that on this occasion, he was influenced by the charms of Anna Bullen, whom he married, before he had obtained from Rome the proper bulls of divorce from the pope.

Queen Anna Bullen lived with the king only till she had borne the princess Elizabeth. Soon after which she was cruelly beheaded, with some of her relations, on a charge of incontinency; of which there is the greatest reason to believe her innocent. Henry then married Jane Seymour, who died in child-bed of prince Edward; when, it being impossible to save both, he was asked which should be spared, the mother or the child, he replied, "That he could easily procure another wife, but he was not sure that he should have another son." He next married Anne of Cleves, whom he soon divorced, but suffered her to reside in England, on a pension of 3000 pounds a year. His fifth wife, Catherine Howard, was, like Anna Bullen, beheaded for antenuptial adultery. But Catherine Parr, his last wife, who was a widow when he married her, survived him.

A perplexing, though nice, conjuncture of affairs induced Henry, at last, to throw off all relation to, or dependence upon, the church of Rome, and to bring about a reformation; in which, however, many of the Romish errors and superstitions were retained.

retained. Henry never could have effected this mighty measure, had it not been for his despotic disposition, which broke out on every occasion.

The dissolution of the religious houses, and the immense wealth that came to Henry, by seizing all the ecclesiastical property in his kingdom, enabled him to give full scope to his arbitrary temper; and his wishes, however unreasonable, were too readily complied with, in consequence of the shameful servility of his parliament. The best and most innocent blood of England was shed on scaffolds, and seldom any long time passed without being marked with some illustrious victim of his tyranny.

CH A P. LVI.

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF MONASTERIES, AND OF THOMAS-A-BECKET'S SHRINE.

WHEN this measure was resolved upon, Henry appointed a visitation of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach
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with Rome had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the objects of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and

and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin, shewn in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by pregnant women; some reliques, an excellent preventative against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shewn, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or

patience, or faith nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the **ROOD OF GRACE**. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and shewed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called **Darvel Gatherin**, was also brought to London, and cut in pieces; and by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called **St. Thomas of Canterbury**. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for in-

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stance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six pence, at the Virgin's sixty-three pounds five shillings and six pence; at St. Thomas's eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's only gained four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence. Lewis VII, of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels: a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income; a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low

low rents; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of these violences, and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which, five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expence and dissipation, the profit which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices

of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, which possessed seven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furnese, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at nine hundred and sixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner, and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence, by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by high sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their side: he had declared war with the dead, whom the Pagans themselves re-

spected; was at open hostility with heaven; and had engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was said he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in morals. Henry could distinguish in some of these libels the style and animosity of his kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every possible expedient on that famous cardinal.

Reginald de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was descended from the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous disposition by which during his whole life he was so much distinguished; and Henry, having conceived great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in the university of Paris at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendship with a person whose virtues and talents he hoped would prove useful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanery, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: he even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late measures taken in England for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all persons eminent for dignity or merit

merit in Italy, Sadoleto, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in some respect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of the Unity of the Church, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the Catholic cause. Henry, though provoked beyond measure at this outrage, dissimulated his resentment; and he sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult. Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation, and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was universally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in support of their cause had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536. Henry was sensible that Pole's chief intention, in chusing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English Catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in so vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal on his part kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter,

Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and sir Geoffry de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who presided in the trial as high steward: they were all executed except sir Geoffry de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little concerning the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: we only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time prosecuted by the court forms no presumption of his guilt; though, as no historian of credit mentions in the present case any complaint occasioned by these trials, we may presume that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis of Exeter and his associates.

The rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands by which the ancient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremities against the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer

took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuation and address, been successful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and, by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox, bishop of Hereford, had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partisans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the ancient faith and worship.

Henry was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion which stopped his career, and raised him new objects of animosity. Though he had gradually, since the commencement of his scruples with regard to his first marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. And though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so inflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most
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signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him, than while he broke off all connections with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this essential article the purity of the Catholic faith.

There was one Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counsels at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were in a certain mysterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice, Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because in their common departure from the ancient faith he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprised when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning,

learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the lists with the schoolmaster: scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: the prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left: the judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

The bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still continued obstinate in them, he must expect the most condign punishment.

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with some compliment to his majesty, he re-
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jected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen: the audience applauded the force of his reasoning and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tonsal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonsal: six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley: and the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he were convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, Whether he were resolved to live or to die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: the king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore if that were his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, pronounced the sentence against him.

Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the punishment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberds, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, "None but Christ! None but Christ!" and these words were in his mouth when he expired.

Some few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield.

CH A P. LVII.

OF THE DEATH OF KING HENRY: WITH REMARKS ON HIS REIGN.

HENRY's health had long been declining, and his approaching dissolution had plainly been foreseen by all around him for some days. But, as it had been declared treason to foretel the king's death, no one durst inform him of his condition, lest, in the transports of his fury, he should order the author of such intelligence to immediate punishment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at last, ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He signified his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for. The primate came, though not before the king was speechless. But, as he still seemed to retain his senses, Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. He squeezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign, affording, in his end, a striking example, that composure, in the hour of death, is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well spent, nor vengeance, in this world, the universal fate of blood-thirsty tyrants. Happily we know, that there is a state beyond the grave, where all accounts will
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be settled, and a tribunal, where every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and to the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in Heaven, which regarded the actions of men, nor any arm to punish.

Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt; some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party. But Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. Our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct and our reformation had any connection with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other. The most noble designs are brought about by the most vicious instruments; for we see even that cruelty and injustice were employed in our holy redemption.

But the history of this reign yields us other lessons, than those of morality; lessons which come home to the heart of every Englishman, and which he ought to remember every moment of his existence. It teaches us the most alarming of all political truths: "That the most absolute despotism may prevail in a state, and yet the form of a free constitution remain." Nay, it even leads us to a conjecture still more interesting to Britons, "That in this country, a tyrannical prince most successfully exercises his violencies, under the shelter of those barriers, which the constitution has placed, as the security of national freedom; of our lives, our liberties, and our properties." Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great measure, the spirit of our laws. He exercised the most enormous violences against the first men in the kingdom. He loaded

loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and he pilaged them by loans, which it was known he never meant to pay. But he never attempted to abolish the parliament, or even to retrench any of its most doubtful privileges. The parliament was the grand instrument of his tyranny. It authorized his oppressive taxes, and absolved him from the payment of his debts. It gave its sanction to his most violent and sanguinary measures; to measures, which, of himself, he durst not have carried into execution; or which, if supposed to be merely the result of his own arbitrary will, would have roused the spirit of the nation to assert the rights of humanity. Law would have been given to the tyrant's power; or some arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of such a monster, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts and reasoning is, (and it deserves our most serious attention) that the British constitution, though so happily poised, that no one part of it seems to preponderate;—though so admirably constructed, that every one of the three estates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houses of parliament upon the crown;—though the most rational and perfect system of freedom which human wisdom has framed,—it is no positive security against the despotism of an artful or tyrannical prince;—and that, if Britons should ever be slaves, such an event is not likely to happen, as in France or Spain, by the abolition of our national assembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that supposed bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our slavery.

Our admirable constitution is but a gay shadow to conceal our shame, and the iniquity of our oppressors, unless our senators are animated by the
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same spirit which gave it birth. If they can be over-awed by threats, seduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promises, another Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench, once more, the scaffold with the best blood in the nation. The parliament will be the humble and secure minister of his tyrannies.

C H A P. LVIII.

OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THOMAS WOLSEY, the first who promoted the divorce of Catharine, Henry's first queen, was a butcher's son, of Ipswich, in Suffolk. He was a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, and greatly distinguished by his talents. Fox, bishop of Winchester, having introduced him to court, he soon obtained the deanery of Lincoln.

Henry VIII, who had a great affection for him, appointed him a member of his privy council: made him prime minister, a little after bishop of Lincoln; and afterwards archbishop of York. By the interest of Francis I, he was raised to the purple; and Henry made him lord chancellor.

Not being satisfied with these preferments, Wolsey aimed at the pontifical chair, to which Charles V had promised to raise him. But as that emperor failed to promote his interest in two conclaves, in the first whereof, he caused Adrian, formerly his tutor, to be elected pope; Wolsey, out of revenge, persuaded king Henry to solicit the divorce; which affair afterwards proved his ruin. For as Wolsey had not credit enough at the court of Rome to obtain the

the grant of those things, with the hopes of which he had flattered king Henry, he became odious to that prince; who, tired out with the continual complaints made against him, and the repeated solicitation of Anna Bullen, seized all his furniture, papers, and money.

The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant surmises. Of fine holland alone there were found a thousand pieces. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and silver. He had a cup-board of plate of massy gold. All the rest of his riches and furniture were in proportion; and probably their greatness invited the hand of power.

The cardinal, after his disgrace, was ordered to retire to *Esher*, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton, there to await the king's further pleasure, with all the fluctuations of hope and apprehension. Still, however, he was in possession of the archbishopric of York, and bishopric of Winchester; and the king gave him distant gleams of hope, by sending him a ring, accompanied with a gracious message. *Wolsey*, who, like every bad character, was proud to his equals, and mean to those above him, happening to meet the king's messenger on horseback, immediately alighted, and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that abject manner, those marks of his majesty's condescension.

But his hopes were soon overturned; for, after he had remained some time at *Esher*, he was ordered to remove to his see of York, where he took up his residence at *Cawood*, and rendered himself very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high treason; and

and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial.

On his journey he was seized with a disorder, which turned into a dysentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester Abbey. "I am come to lay my bones among you," said Wolsey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him; and he immediately took his bed, whence he never rose more. "Had I but served my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs."

His treason, indeed, seems rather to have been against the people than the prince, or even the state. For although the violence and obstinacy of Henry's character ought, perhaps, to apologize for many of the cardinal's public measures, his continued extortions upon the subject, by the most iniquitous methods, in what he called the Legantine Court, admit of no alleviation.

C H A P. LIX.

OF THE FRENCH MONARCH, FRANCIS THE FIRST.

IN the reign of Francis I, contemporary with Henry VIII, of England, the French began to extend their influence over Europe. This prince, though he was brave to excess in his own person, and had defeated the Swifs, who till then were deemed invincible, was an unfortunate warrior. He was a candidate for the empire of Germany, but lost the Imperial

Imperial crown; Charles V, of the house of Austria, and king of Spain, being chosen. Francis made some dazzling expeditions against Spain, but suffered his mother, of whom he was very fond, to abuse his power; by which he disoblighd the constable of Bourbon, the greatest of his subjects, who joined in a confederacy against him, with the emperor, and Henry VIII, of England. He died in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalry subsisted between him and the emperor, which involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe, in wars, prosecuted with more violent animosity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period.

Many circumstances contributed to both. Their animosity was founded in opposition of interest heightened by personal emulation, and exasperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal insults. At the same time, whatever advantage one seemed to possess towards gaining the ascendant, was wonderfully balanced by some favourable circumstance, peculiar to the other.

The emperor's dominions were of great extent; the French king's lay more compact. Francis governed his kingdom with absolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he supplied the want of authority by address. The troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprizing; those of the latter, better disciplined, and more patient of fatigue.

The talents and abilities of the two monarchs were as different as the advantages which they possessed, and contributed no less to prolong the contest between them. Francis took his resolutions suddenly,

suddenly, prosecuted them at first with warmth, and pushed them into execution with a most adventurous courage. But being destitute of the perseverance necessary to surmount difficulties, he often abandoned his designs, or relaxed the vigour of pursuit from impatience, and sometimes from levity.

Charles deliberated long, and determined with coolness; but having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obstinacy, and neither danger nor discouragement could turn him aside from the execution of it.

The success of their enterprizes was as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often disconcerted the emperor's best-laid schemes; Charles, by a more calm, but steady prosecution of his designs, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulsed his most vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war, or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter waiting until he saw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end, not only all that he had lost, but made new acquisitions. Few of the French monarch's attempts towards conquest, whatever promising aspect they might wear at first, were conducted to an happy issue; many of the emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared desperate and impracticable, terminated in the most prosperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the splendour of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the prospect of its turning to his advantage.

The degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation, has not been fixed either by a strict scrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial consideration of the greatness and success of their undertakings; and Francis is one of those
monarchs

monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of fame, than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold.

Captivated with his personal qualities, his subjects forgot his defects as a monarch, and admiring him as the most accomplished and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they never murmured at acts of mal-administration, which, in a prince of less engaging dispositions, would have been deemed unpardonable.

CHAP. LX.

OF QUEEN MARY, AND THE PERSECUTIONS DURING HER REIGN.

KING Edward VI reigned six years; during which time the reformation went on rapidly, through the zeal of Cranmer, and other divines.

Edward, on his death-bed, from his attachment to the reformed religion, made a very unconstitutional will; for he set aside his sister Mary from the succession, which was claimed by lady Jane Grey, daughter to the duchess of Suffolk, younger sister to Henry VIII. This lady, though she had scarcely reached her seventeenth year, was a prodigy of learning and virtue. But the bulk of the English nation recognized the claim of the princess Mary, who cut off lady Jane's head, and that of her husband Lord Guilford Dudley, son to the duke of Northumberland, who suffered in the same manner.

Mary being thus settled on the throne, was married to Philip II, king of Spain, who, like herself,

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was an unfeeling bigot to popery; and the chief praise of her reign is, that by the marriage articles, provision was made for the independence of the English crown. By the assistance of troops, which she furnished to her husband, he gained the important battle of St. Quintin. But that victory was so ill improved, that the French, under the duke of Guise, soon after took Calais, the only place then remaining to the English in France.

This event, together with the consciousness of being hated by her subjects, and despised by her husband, so much affected Mary, whose health had long been in a declining state, that she fell into a lingering fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign, in the year 1558. "When I am dead," said she to her attendants, "you will find Calais at my heart."

Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable. Her person was as little engaging as her manner. And, amidst that complication of vices which entered into her composition, obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, we scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; unless we add vigour of mind, a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.

During this queen's reign, persecution for religion was carried to the most terrible height. The mild counsels of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were over-ruled by Gardiner and Bonner; and multitudes of all conditions, ages, and sexes, were committed to the flames.

The persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man equally distinguished by his piety and learning, but whose domestic situation, it was hoped, would bring him to compliance. He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children, yet did he continue firm in his principles; and
such

such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, awaked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He suffered in Smithfield.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester was condemned at the same time with Rogers, but sent to his own diocese to be punished, in order to strike the greater terror into his flock. The constancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a scene of consolation to Hooper, to die in their sight, bearing testimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them; and he continued to exhort them, till his tongue, swollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, also suffered this terrible punishment in his own diocese; and Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning, and their piety, perished together in the same fire at Oxford, supporting each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother; we shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as I trust in God will never be extinguished."

Sanders, a respectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was offered him, if he would recant. But he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome, cross of Christ! welcome, everlasting life!"

Cranmer had less courage at first. Terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompously represented the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to subscribe to the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and the real presence.

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But the court, no less perfidious than cruel, determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterwards be led to execution.

Whether Cranmer received secret intelligence of their design, or repented of his weakness, or both, is uncertain; but he surprised the audience by a declaration, very different from what was expected. After explaining his sense of what he owed to God and his sovereign, "There is one miscarriage in my life," said he, "of which, above all others, I severely repent,—the insincere declaration of faith, to which I had the weakness to subscribe. But I take this opportunity of atoning for my error, by a sincere and open recantation, and am willing to seal with my blood that doctrine, which I firmly believe to be communicated from heaven."

As his hand, he added, had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished by a severe, but just doom. He accordingly stretched it out, as soon as he came to the stake, to which he was instantly led, and without discovering, either by his looks or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts, to use the words of an elegant and learned historian, appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended!" When it dropped off, he discovered a serenity in his countenance, as if satisfied with sacrificing to divine justice the instrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his soul, totally collected within itself, seemed superior to every external accident, and altogether inaccessible to pain.

C H A P. LXI.

OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, KING OF SPAIN, AND
EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

CHARLES V, grandson of Maximilian, of the house of Austria, was elected emperor, in the year 1519. His extensive possessions in Europe, Africa, and, above all, America, from whence he drew immense treasures, began to alarm the jealousy of neighbouring princes, but could not satisfy the ambition of Charles; and we find him constantly engaged in foreign wars, or with his own protestant subjects, whom he in vain attempted to bring back to the catholic church. At last, after a long and turbulent reign, he came to a resolution which filled all Europe with astonishment.

Though he was no more than fifty-six, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally pursued with the greatest ardour, he determined to resign his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, and to withdraw himself entirely from any concern in the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude.

Various have been the opinions of historians concerning a resolution so singular and unexpected. But the most probable seem to be, the disappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits were now become so frequent and severe, that not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were sensibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than
to

to expose them any longer to the public eye. And, as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by attempting to guide the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, he prudently determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retirement, that happiness which he had in vain pursued amid the tumults of war, and intrigues of state.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles, who had already ceded to his son Philip the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan, assembled the states of the low countries at Brussels; and seating himself for the last time, in the chair of state, he explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, and solemnly devolved his authority upon Philip.

Rising from his seat, and leaning on the shoulder of the prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience; and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to assist his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed, since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that, from the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects; reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure: that either in a pacific or hostile manner, he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea; that, while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigour of his constitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue: that now, when

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his health was broken, and his vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire; nor was he so fond of reigning, as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects, or to render them happy: that, instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases, and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth, all the attention and sagacity of maturer years: that if, during the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error in government; or if, under the pressure of so many and great affairs, and amidst the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness; that for his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his sweetest consolation, as well as the best reward for all his services; and, in his last prayers to Almighty God, would pour forth his ardent wishes for their welfare.

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees, and kissed his father's hand, "If," says he, "I had left you, by my death, this rich inheritance, to which I have made such large additions, some regard would have been justly due to my memory on that account. But now, when I voluntarily resign to you, what I might have still retained, I may well expect the warmest expressions of thanks on your part. With these, however, I dispense; and shall consider your concern for the welfare of your subjects, and your love of them, as the best and most acceptable testimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wise and virtuous administration,

to justify the extraordinary proof, which I this day give of my paternal affection; and to demonstrate, that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion. Maintain the catholic faith in its purity. Let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes. Encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people. And if the time shall ever come, when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities, that you can resign your sceptre to him with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you."

As soon as Charles had finished this long address to his subjects, and to their new sovereign, he sunk into the chair, exhausted, and ready to faint with the fatigue of such an extraordinary effort. During his discourse, the whole audience melted into tears; some from admiration of his magnanimity; others, softened by the expressions of tenderness towards his son, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepest sorrow at losing a sovereign who had distinguished the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

A few weeks afterwards, Charles, in an assembly no less splendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the Old and in the New World. Of all these vast possessions he reserved nothing for himself, but an annual pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity.

The place he had chosen for his retreat, was the monastery of St. Justus, in the province of Estremadura. It was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. From the nature

of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain.

Here he buried, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects which, during half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe; filling every kingdom in it by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subjected to his power. Here he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. Far from taking any part in the political transactions of the princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from an enquiry concerning them; and he seemed to view the busy scene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indifference arising from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleasing reflection of having disengaged himself from its cares.

New amusements and new objects now occupied his mind. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands. Sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, he either admitted a few gentlemen, who resided in the neighbourhood, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himself in studying the principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches. And having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprize and regret, on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment, concerning the intricate

tricate and mysterious doctrines of religion. And here, after two years' retirement, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in the fifty-ninth of his age, A.D. 1557.

C H A P. LXII.

OF THE MASSACRE OF THE HUGONOTS, OR PROTESTANTS, AT PARIS. A.D. 1572.

FRANCIS II being a weak, sickly, and inactive prince, his power was entirely engrossed by a prince of the house of Guise, uncle to his wife, the beautiful queen of Scotland. This engrossment of power encouraged the Bourbon, the Montmorenci, and other great families, to form a strong opposition against the government. Anthony, king of Navarre, was at the head of the Bourbon family. But the queen-mother, the famous Catharine of Medicis, being obliged to take part with the Guises, the confederacy, who had adopted the cause of Hugonotism, was broken in pieces, when the sudden death of Francis happened, in the year 1560.

The event took place while the prince of Condé, brother to the king of Navarre, was under sentence of death, for a conspiracy against the court. But the queen mother saved him, to balance the interest of the Guises; so that the sole direction of affairs fell into her hands, during the minority of her second son, Charles IX. Her regency was a continued series of dissimulation, treachery, and murder. The duke of Guise, who was the scourge of the protestants, was treacherously murdered by one Poltrot, at

the siege of Orleans; and the murderer was thought to have been instigated by the famous Coligni, admiral of France, who was then at the head of the protestant party. Three civil wars succeeded each other. At last, the court pretended to grant the Hugonots a very advantageous peace, and a match was concluded between Henry, the young king of Navarre, a protestant, and the French king's sister.

The heads of the protestants were invited to celebrate the nuptials at Paris, with the infernal view of butchering them all, if possible, in one night. The admiral was wounded by a shot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court still found means to quiet the suspicions of the Hugonots, till the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a massacre commenced, to which there is nothing parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation that led to it, or the cruelty and barbarity, with which it was put in execution. The protestants, as a body, were devoted to destruction; the young king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé only being excepted from the general doom, and that on condition they should change their religion.

Charles in person led the way to this butchery, which was chiefly conducted by the Duke of Guise. The guards had been ordered to be under arms. The ringing of a bell was the signal; and the catholic citizens, though unprepared for such a scene, zealously seconded the fury of the soldiery, imbruing their hands, without remorse, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations. Persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undistinguished ruin. About five hundred gentleman, and men of rank, among whom was Coligni, with many other leaders of the party, were murdered in Paris alone; and near ten thousand person

persons of inferior condition. The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces; and a like carnage ensued in Rouen, Lyons, and several other cities. Sixty thousand protestants are supposed to have been butchered in different parts of the kingdom.

As an apology for this barbarous perfidy, Charles pretended that a conspiracy of the Hugonots to seize his person, had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated for his own safety, to proceed to extremities against them.

At Rome and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings, and solemn thanks returned to God for its success.

Among the protestants, it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment; the ladies and courtiers, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and, as I passed through them, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutes."

C H A P. LXIII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLIC OF HOLLAND.

THE tyranny of Philip of Spain made the Dutch attempt to throw off his yoke, which occasioned a general

neral insurrection. The counts Hoorn, Egmont, and the prince of Orange, appearing at the head of it, and Luther's reformation gaining ground at the same time in the Netherlands, his disciples joined the malecontents. Whereupon king Philip introduced a kind of inquisition, in order to suppress them; and many thousands were put to death by that court, besides those who perished by the sword. Count Hoorn and count Egmont were taken and beheaded. But the prince of Orange, whom they elected to be their stadtholder, retiring into Holland, that province, and those adjacent to it, entered into a treaty for their mutual defence.

The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, in the year 1579, and signed that famous union, in appearance so slight, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces, independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

It was agreed, That the seven provinces shall unite themselves in interest as one province, reserving to each particular province and city all its privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that in all disputes between either of the provinces, the rest shall interpose only as mediators; and that they shall assist each other, with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any particular province.

The first coin struck after this alliance is strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: INCERTUM QUO FATA FERANT. "I know not whither fate may carry me."

Though these revolvers at first were thought so despicable, as to be termed Beggars by their tyrants, their perseverance and courage were such, under the prince of Orange, and the assistance afforded them by queen Elizabeth, both in troops and money, that they forced the

the crown of Spain at last to declare them a free people, about the year 1609: and afterwards they were declared by all Europe to be an independant state, under the title of THE UNITED PROVINCES.

C H A P. LXIV.

OF THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA, BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

PHILIP, king of Spain, made use of the immense sums which he drew from Mexico and Peru, in equipping the most formidable armament that perhaps had ever been put to sea, under the prince of Parma, the best captain of that age. This fleet, which was called the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, and carried about twenty thousand land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt upon the news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade England. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small, in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long inured to danger.

The queen alone seemed undismayed in this threatening calamity. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance; and the more to exercise the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share the same dangers.

dangers, and the same fate with them. "I myself," said she, "will be your general, your judge, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. Your alacrity has already deserved its rewards; and, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. Persevere then in your obedience to command, shew your valour in the field, and we shall soon have a glorious victory over those enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people."

Nor were her preparations by sea driven on with less alacrity. Although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as Lord Admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him.

Effingham, who was informed of the approach of the Spanish fleet by a Scotch pirate, had just time to get out of port, when he saw it coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly described by the historians of that age, without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the Armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they assert, that, though the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean had groaned with supporting, and the winds been tired with impelling so enormous a weight.

The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the enemy, on account of the

size of their ships, and the number of soldiers on board. But a few trials convinced him, that, even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English.

Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them, while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ships.

It was now evident that the purpose of the Armada was entirely frustrated; and the duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated for transporting soldiers, not for fighting, positively refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to return home. But, as the winds were contrary to his passage through the channel, he resolved to make the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, through the negligence of the offices in supplying them, they had obliged the invincible Armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vain glorious enterprize would have been truly illustrious to the English; but the event was scarce less fatal to the Spaniards. The Armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys. The ships having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea; and the mar-

riners, unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, allowed them to drive on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen. Yet Philip, whose command of temper was equal to his ambition, received, with an air of tranquillity, the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent my fleet," said he, "to combat the English, not the elements. God be praised the calamity is not greater."

CHAP. LXV.

THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BY MR. HUME.

QUEEN Elizabeth died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

There are few personages in history, who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than Queen Elizabeth; and yet there is scarce any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced an uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are

are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person, who ever filled a throne. A conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess. Her heroism was exempted from all temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her enterprise from turbulence, and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care, or equal success, from less infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper, and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over the people; and while she merited all their esteem, by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections, by her pretended ones.

Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret of managing religious factions, she preserved her people by her superior prudence, from those confusions, in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations. And, though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able, by her vigour, to make deep impressions on their state. Her own greatness, in the mean time, remained untouched and unimpaired.

The wise ministers and brave warriors, who flourished during her reign, share the praise of her success; but instead of lessening the applause due to her,

her; they make great addition to it. They all owed their advancement to her choice. They were supported by her constancy; and with all their ability, they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her.

In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress. The force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat, which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and of bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable, because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses, by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and to consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her, as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and admiration.

C H A P. LXVI.

OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, RIZZIO, AND
DARNLEY.

MARY STUART, whose beauty has been as much extolled as her misfortunes have been lamented, was born in the royal palace of Linlithgow, on the 14th of December, 1542. By the death of her father, James V, which happened a few days after her birth, this princess was left under the protection of her mother, who was the eldest daughter of Claude, duke of Guise, and who had been before married to Louis, duke of Longueville. Scotland about this period being a prey to contending factions, and the prospect of a long minority giving the Scotch sufficient reason to dread the ambitious views of their neighbours, it was thought expedient by the queen dowager, to convey Mary to France, where she was educated in the court of Henry II. Though then only six years of age, the opening powers of her mind, and her natural disposition afforded the strongest hopes of her future capacity and merit. As she increased in years, the graces of her person became more conspicuous, while her mental endowments received additional lustre from an excellent education in the most brilliant court of Europe. After being taught to work with her needle, and in tapestry, she was instructed in the Latin language, which we are told, she understood with an accuracy very uncommon for persons of her high rank. At an early period, she is said to have pronounced with great applause, before the whole court, a Latin harangue, in which

which she proved that it was not unbecoming the fair sex to cultivate letters and to acquire learning. She applied also with great success to the study of the French, Italian and Spanish, which she spoke not only with propriety, but with fluency and ease. She walked and danced with an enchanting gracefulness, and she had made considerable progress in painting, music, and poetry. All the historians of that age represent her as one of the most beautiful and accomplished princesses that ever appeared in France; all agree in celebrating the lustre of her eyes, the delicacy of her features and complexion, as well as the elegance of her figure. So many charms in a youthful princess, could not fail to warm the imagination of the poets of the day. She was therefore made the subject of many panegyrics, and Du Bellay, Baif, Ronfard, and others, have extolled her graces and accomplishments, with all that vivacity which is peculiar to the French writers.

The queen dowager, who had been induced to send Mary to France, for the security of her person, being warmly attached to that nation, both by blood and inclination, ardently wished to bring about a marriage between her daughter and the Dauphin, son of Henry II. Amiable as the queen of Scots was, then in the bloom of youth, and considerable as the territories were, which by such an union would have been added to the French monarchy. Henry was at first averse to the accomplishment of this plan. The constable Montmorency had opposed it with all his power and influence. He had represented the impossibility of preserving peace and tranquillity among a restless and warlike people, during the absence of their sovereign, and he had advised the king to bestow the young queen upon one of the princes of the blood, who by residing in Scotland, might preserve it, as an useful ally to France. Every remonstrance was, however, ineffectual; the charms of Mary had inspired the dauphin with a violent passion, and the marriage was accordingly

cordingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, in the church of Notre-Dame, at Paris, on the 14th of April, 1558.

Henry II. dying the year following, Mary and her husband mounted the throne, on which, though they enjoyed all the exterior splendor of royalty, they possessed very little real authority. France was at that time a prey to the ambition of the Guises, who, taking advantage of the king's age, had got the reins of government into their hands, and ruled in such a manner as best suited their interest or their inclination.

By their instigation, as Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry VIII, Mary and her husband assumed the title of King and Queen of England, an imprudent step, which gave much offence to Elizabeth, and which, perhaps, paved the way for that tragical scene which closed the unfortunate life of Mary. Francis, however, did not long enjoy this vain title; he was cut off in the flower of his youth, after a short reign of sixteen months.

This event, added to other causes of chagrin, plunged Mary into the most inexpressible sorrow. Neglected by the queen mother, and forsaken by the tribe of courtiers, who appear only during the moments of prosperity, she thought of seeking in solitude that consolation which she could not find in the midst of a court, where every object reminded her of her former situation; and she retired to Rheims, to give vent to her grief, or to conceal her indignation.

Though Mary was earnestly requested to return to her distracted country, which, on the death of her mother, was left without a regent, and exposed to all the outrages and violence of faction, she seemed in no haste to gratify the ardent wishes of the Scotch nation. Accustomed to the elegance and splendor of a polite court, she still fondly lingered in France, ruminating upon the dismal projects which the turbulence of her subjects and the barrenness of Scotland presented to her view.

The

The impatience however of the people, the persuasions of her uncles, and, above all, the mortifying neglect with which she was treated by the queen mother, induced her to think of undertaking this journey, and of being reconciled to her fate.

In order that she might be safe from the insults of the English fleet, Mary, before she embarked, sent M. D'Oysel to request of Elizabeth a safe conduct during her voyage. This favour, which decency alone would induce one sovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth refused, and in such a manner as gave strong reasons to suspect that she intended either to obstruct the passage, or to intercept the person of the Scottish queen.

Though this ungenerous conduct excited the indignation of Mary, it did not retard her departure from France. When she left Paris, she was accompanied to St. Germain by Charles IX, Catherine de Medicis, the king of Navarre, and other persons of distinction: there the royal family of France took leave of her, and she set forward for Calais, where she embarked in a manner suitable to her dignity, as the queen of two powerful kingdoms. Six princes of Lorraine, her uncles, and many of the French nobility, were in her retinue. When she ascended the galley that was about to convey her to Scotland, her partiality for France appeared in a very striking manner. Her past grandeur and happiness, the pleasures of the French court, and the enjoyments of her infancy, rushed upon her memory; she burst into tears, and the sympathetic assiduity of her attendants augmented her inquietude.

The first object which presented itself to her eyes, after quitting the harbour, was a vessel, together with its crew, swallowed up by the waves; an unlucky presage, which still added to her dejection. The first day of her voyage, she continued on the poop of the vessel, with her eyes fondly turned towards the shore which she had quitted, and while it appeared to recede from her view, she cried out, "Farewel, dear France; farewel, enchanting

enchancing country, I leave thee, never more to return!" With frequent and heart-felt sighs she repeated this exclamation; and when the arrival of night deprived her of a view of the beloved shores, she ordered her couch to be brought upon deck, and desired the pilot to awaken her at the break of day, in case the coast of France should still be in sight. Her orders were strictly executed; a calm had prevented the galley from making way, and she had again an opportunity of indulging her sorrow. A favourable wind however springing up, and a thick fog succeeding, she fortunately escaped the squadron of ships, which Elizabeth had sent to intercept her in her passage, and after a few days' sail, arrived in safety at the port of Leith, on the 19th of August, 1561, having been absent from her native country nearly thirteen years.

Mary was received by her subjects with every mark of affection, and with every demonstration of joy; but as her arrival was unexpected, and as no preparation had been made for it, they could not conceal from her the poverty of the country. Accustomed from her infancy to splendor and magnificence, she could not help observing the change in her condition, and it was visible to all those around her, that she was greatly affected by it.

Never did any prince ascend the throne at a period which required more firmness and moderation. The ferment occasioned by religious disputes, of all others the most difficult to be calmed, had not then subsided. The nobles, by the absence of their sovereign, had been accustomed to independence. A state of anarchy had prevailed in the kingdom for two years, without a regent, and without any regular form of government; a licentious spirit, the natural consequence of such misfortunes, had spread among all ranks of men, and the English, from being enemies, had grown into confidence with the nation, and had gained an ascendancy over all its councils. Such was the situation of affairs in Scotland, when the administration fell into the hands of a queen, from whose
age

age and inexperience little could be expected; but the prudent measures with which she began her reign were well calculated to augment her popularity, and to restore tranquillity to her dominions. According to the plan which had been concerted in France, Mary committed the administration of affairs entirely to protestants; her council was composed of the most eminent persons of that party, and not a single papist was admitted into any degree of confidence. Happy had it been for her, had she pursued the same wise plan of conduct; she might then have prevented those misfortunes, which brought her to an untimely end, and which raised momentary sentiments of compassion, even in the breasts of her enemies.

Of all the passions which infest the human breast, or disturb the repose of mankind, none has produced more tragical effects than love; and there is no object, however exalted, which men will not flatter themselves with the hopes of enjoying, when their reason is disturbed by its delusive dreams. A circumstance which occurred soon after the queen's return to Scotland, affords a striking proof of the truth of this observation. Chatelard, a gentleman of family in Dauphiny, nearly related to the Chevalier de Bayard, had been introduced to Mary. He possessed an agreeable figure, and much vivacity; was a man of polished manners, and had the talent of making verses; all which, together with his assiduity, and attention to please, recommended him to the queen, and she several times did him the honour to dance with him. Emboldened by this flattering mark of favour, and inflamed by the power of her charms, he became violently in love, and instead of stifling this dangerous passion in its birth, suffered it by indulgence, to grow too powerful to be checked by the dictates of prudence. Resolved upon sacrificing his safety to the gratification of his desire, this infatuated man entered the queen's apartment, and having concealed himself under her bed till the approach of night, was discovered by her maids in that situation,

situation, while her majesty was undressing. Though such an audacious attempt deserved punishment, Chate-lard was dismissed only with disgrace, and received afterwards a pardon. On a second attempt, however, he was not treated with the same lenity. The justice which Mary owed to her own character required that she should inflict some severe mark of her displeasure upon the person who had been guilty of such an offence; he was accordingly tried, and condemned to lose his head, and this sentence was soon after put in execution.

It can hardly be expected that a beautiful woman, who possessed one kingdom, and had a prospect of mounting the throne of another, should remain long without having offers of marriage made her. Mary had not continued much above two years in a state of widowhood, when several princes solicited the honour of so illustrious an alliance. Ferdinand I, emperor of Germany, fearing that if Mary should again choose a husband among the princes of France, the same vast projects and ambitious designs might be renewed, which the French had founded on their former alliance with that princess, endeavoured to secure the Scottish queen for his third son, the archduke Charles. Philip II solicited also in behalf of his son Don Carlos, at that time heir of all those immense territories which belonged to the crown of Spain; and Catherine of Medicis, who dreaded the marriage of the Scottish queen with any of the Austrian princes, and who was afraid that these splendid proposals might dazzle Mary, instantly dispatched Castelnau into Scotland, to offer her the brother of her former husband, the duke of Anjou, who soon after mounted the throne of France. All these offers were, however, rejected. Mary was averse to any foreign alliance, which she knew would be disagreeable to the Scottish nation, and she chose rather to sacrifice her own ambition, than alarm the fears of her subjects.

Queen Elizabeth too, who probably wished to second her own views, and to amuse Mary, made a proposal of marriage,

marriage, in favour of the earl of Leicester, to which Mary, with equal dissimulation, seemed at first to listen; but as she had now cast her eyes upon another object, the negociation of Elizabeth was never brought to a fortunate issue.

The person to whom Mary had turned thoughts, was Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lennox. His father had been driven out of Scotland, under the regency of the duke of Chatelherault, and had lived in banishment twenty years. From the time that Mary began to think of forming a matrimonial alliance with this family, she entered into a closer connection with the earl; she invited him to return to Scotland, and in order to facilitate this measure, she called a parliament, and procured a repeal of the act of forfeiture passed against him in 1545, by which he was restored to the honour and estate of his ancestors.

In 1565, lord Darnley arrived in Scotland; he was then in the bloom of youth, and in beauty and gracefulness of person surpassed all his contemporaries; he excelled in all those arts which are calculated to command the attention of the fair sex, and Mary was of an age and disposition to feel the power of such accomplishments.—Though Elizabeth was secretly no way averse to this marriage, as it would free her from the dread of a foreign power, yet when she heard that it was finally agreed upon, and about to take place, she testified the utmost displeasure. She threw the countess of Lennox and her second son into the tower, seized upon her husband's English estate, and without being able to assign the smallest reason for this strange conduct, complained as if she had suffered the greatest injury.

Mary, however, was determined to indulge her own inclinations. Darnley's beauty and accomplishments had made an entire conquest of her heart, and notwithstanding the opposition of the reformers to this union, they were married on the 29th of July, in the Queen's chapel, according to the rites of the Romish church.

Mary's conduct had hitherto given satisfaction to her subjects: but her alliance with the family of Lennox, who were suspected of adhering to the catholic faith, created much uneasiness; and though Darnley, who now bore the title of king Henry, went often to the established church, he could not by this exterior compliance, secure the confidence of the ecclesiastics. Knox had the boldness to tell him from the pulpit, that God, for the punishment of the people's sins, was wont to commit the power over them to boys and women. The populace, instigated by such doctrine, began to assemble against government; some of the principal nobility too were discontented at seeing a new set of courtiers engross all Mary's favour and attention; but as the queen was esteemed and beloved, and as the interested views of the malecontents were pretty well known, their influence had very little effect. In the western counties, the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, with some others, collected their followers; Mary, upon this, put herself at the head of a considerable army, which she increased afterwards to the number of eighteen thousand men; the operations of the rebels were disconcerted by this formidable force, which they were unable to oppose, they were, therefore, soon dispersed, and they fled with precipitation to England.

Impressions soon made are seldom of long duration; and accomplishments which are merely shewy, without any solidity, have not power to secure a continuance of that love and esteem, which are only the instantaneous effects of their dazzling splendor. Darnley, with all his exterior qualities, was a man of weak understanding and violent passions. Intoxicated with his elevated situation, and conceited of his abilities, he ascribed his extraordinary success to his own distinguished merit. Equally trifling as vain, he bestowed that time and attention which were due to youth, beauty, and royalty, objects capable of flattering the ambition of the most aspiring, upon frivolous amusements, unbecoming the dignity of his

his station. His companions were such as had distinguished themselves rather by their vices than their virtues; and he often indulged with them in the most shameful excesses of debauchery and riot. The affection of Mary for such a character could not be very lasting. Domestic quarrels broke out between them soon after their marriage; and these were not a little fomented by the queen's behaviour to David Rizzio, whom she treated with a familiarity, and admitted into a share of confidence, to which neither his birth nor his condition gave him the least claim or pretension. This man was the son of a musician at Turin, and having accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, gained admission into the queen's family by his skill in music. Being of a servile disposition and insinuating manners, he soon ingratiated himself into favour; and though he was both old and ugly, the queen seemed to repose peculiar trust in him. Her secretary for foreign dispatches having some time after returned to his native country, she promoted Rizzio to that office. In this situation he gave so much satisfaction, that he became her chief confidant; he was consulted upon every occasion, and no favours could be obtained but through his intercession. As those who rise from meanness are in general apt to become insolent in their prosperity, the haughtiness of Rizzio, as well as his capacity, soon rendered him odious to all the nobility of the kingdom. Little is necessary to awaken suspicions and excite jealousy in the mind of a weak man. Darnley was easily prevailed upon to believe that Rizzio was the person who had stole from him the queen's affections. His haughty spirit could not bear the thoughts of such a rival, and he instantly resolved to get rid of him by violence. Having consulted with some lords of his party, who still added fuel to his resentment, they encouraged him to dispatch Rizzio, and offered their assistance. Mary was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy; and though this bloody tragedy might have been acted any where else, the king chose the queen's chamber as a proper

per place for committing such a deed, that he might give full scope to his revenge, and have the malicious pleasure of reproaching the unhappy victim with his crimes before the queen's face.

George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lennox, the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, having settled the circumstances of their plan, on the 9th of March*, the earl of Morton entered the court of the palace with a body of men, and took possession of all the gates. While the queen was at supper with the duchess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few of her domestics, the king rushed into the apartment by a private door. Behind him was Ruthven in complete armour, followed by three or four of his most trusty accomplices. His looks, by long sickness, had become horrid and ghastly. Such an unexpected appearance struck Rizzio with terror; he readily conjectured that he was the devoted object, and starting up, retired in the utmost consternation behind the queen, of whom he laid hold, hoping that the respect due to her person would save him from destruction. The conspirators had, however, proceeded too far to recede; more armed men entered the chamber; Ruthven drew his dagger, and with looks full of fury, commanded Rizzio, in a stern tone of voice, to quit that shelter of which he was unworthy. Mary employed tears, threats, and entreaties to save her favourite †; but all were ineffectual, he was

* 1566.

† Some authors have asserted, that Mary's attachment to Rizzio arose from a criminal intercourse; but such an opinion is supported by no proper evidence. Even Buchanan, who was a strenuous partizan of her enemies, allowed that he was ugly, a qualification which without doubt could not recommend him to a young handsome queen as a gallant. *Non faciem cultus honestabat sed facies cultum destruebat*, says this author. In a book entitled, *Le Livre de la mort et de la Reyne d'Ecosse*, printed in 1587, he is said to be *disgracié de corps*; and in the same work, it is observed also, that he was in his old age when he made a figure in the court of Mary. Another author, Louis Guyon, who was actually acquainted with Rizzio, says, *Il étoit assez âgé et laid, d'une humeur morgne et mauvais plaisant; mais d'une rare prudence et fort habille dans les affaires.*

torn from her by violence, and before he could be dragged through the next apartment, the rage of the conspirators put an end to his life, his body being pierced with fifty-six wounds. When Mary was informed of his fate, she ceased her lamentations, and said she would weep no more, but think of revenge. The assassins, dreading Mary's resentment, confined her like a prisoner to her palace, which they beset with armed men, and the king dismissed all those who shewed any inclination to attempt her rescue; but though the accomplices of Rizzio's murder solicited for pardon, Mary artfully delayed complying with their request, and having by caresses and persuasion gained the confidence of her husband, no sooner were the guards withdrawn, than she prevailed upon him to escape with her in the night time, and to take shelter at Dunbar. Here Mary collected an army too formidable to be withstood by the conspirators, and advancing to Edinburgh, obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great misery and distress. Her resentment, however, was soon pacified, and they were afterwards permitted to return into their own country.

After the insult offered to her dignity by so atrocious a deed, perpetrated with a brutal ferocity, worthy of the darkest and most barbarous ages, it is not to be wondered at, if Mary's affection became entirely alienated from her husband. She engaged him to disavow all connection with the assassins, to deny any concurrence in their crime, and even to publish this notorious falsehood to the whole world. Having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, she treated him with the greatest disdain. She refused to associate with him, and when he followed her to Alloa, a seat of the earl of Mar, to which she had retired, she suddenly returned to Edinburgh, taking every opportunity of shewing her aversion to him, by the most mortifying marks of displeasure. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen for the place of her delivery, and where she was brought to bed of a son, who

who afterwards mounted the English throne. While all ranks of people were rejoicing in this fortunate event, Mary's aversion to Darnley encreased every day. A new favourite had now started up, to make the breach wider. This was James Hepburn, earl of Bothwel, descended of an ancient and honourable family, who by his extensive possessions, was a man of great power and influence in the kingdom. When the conspirators against Rizzio had seized upon her person, he had been principally instrumental in procuring her liberty, and the zeal and fidelity with which he had served her upon that occasion, made a deep impression on her mind, and increased the confidence which she placed in him. Bothwel, however, was a man of profligate manners; by extravagance he had reduced himself almost to beggary, and his immoderate ambition, become keener by a sense of his poverty, seemed to have fitted him for undertaking the most desperate projects to repair his shattered fortune. This man had acquired great ascendancy over Mary, and all her measures were directed by his counsel and authority. Reports of too intimate a connection between them were spread, and these reports gained ground from the continuance of her hatred to her husband. Darnley, indeed, was so affected by the queen's contempt, and the neglect of the courtiers, that he once intended to retire privately into France or Spain, and had actually provided a vessel to convey him thither. Some of the principal nobility, who knew the queen's disposition towards him, proposed some expedients for a divorce; but, whatever desire Mary might have of obtaining deliverance from the caprices of her husband, as such a measure might open a new source for cavilling, and afford Elizabeth and her ministers an opportunity of disputing her son's legitimacy, she determined rather to support her hard fortune than attempt to remedy it by so dangerous an expedient. Whilst affairs were in this situation, those who wished well to Mary's character, and to public tranquillity, saw with equal pleasure and surprize, some faint signs of a

reconciliation being about to take place. Her husband having fallen dangerously ill * on his way to Glasgow. Mary went thither to visit him, and whether the marks of affection which she shewed upon that occasion were real or affected, it was evident to all around that she expressed an uncommon concern for his situation. Darnley, melted by this behaviour, put himself under the protection of the queen, and attended her to Edinburgh. She lived then in the palace of Holy-rood house ; but as the tumult and noise occasioned about the court might be injurious to him, in the present infirm state of his health, she had an apartment fitted up for him in a solitary house, called the Kirk of Field, which stood at some distance. Mary here gave him fresh marks of her kindness and attachment ; she conversed familiarly with him, and lay some nights in a room below him ; but, on the 9th of February, she told him she would pass that night in the palace, on account of the marriage of one of her servants, which was to be celebrated in her presence. A dreadful scene soon after ensued. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole town was alarmed, on hearing a loud noise, but their astonishment was greatly encreased when it was understood that it had proceeded from the king's house, which was blown up by gunpowder. The inhabitants ran to the place, where they beheld a horrid spectacle. The dead body of the king, with that of a servant, who slept in the same room with him, were found in an adjoining garden, untouched by the fire, and without any bruise, or the smallest mark of violence.

On the news of this murder, the imagination of every one was employed in conjecturing who had been the

* Buchanan and Knox assert positively, that this disorder was occasioned by poison. They tell us that the king's body was covered all over with black putrid pustules ; and Buchanan adds, that Abernethy his physician, openly declared this to be his opinion ; others affirm that his disorder was the small pox, and the reason given by some for lodging the king at the Kirk of Field was, lest the young prince should catch the infection.

perpetrator of it. The general suspicion fell upon Bothwel; and the indignation of the people appeared in the most striking manner. Papers were fixed up in various parts of the city, openly accusing him of this crime, and pictures appeared to the same purpose. But the authors of these did not confine their accusations to Bothwel alone, the queen herself was not spared, and it was even insinuated that she had been accessory to the murder.

The earl of Lennox, who lived at a distance from the court, roused by the report of his son's murder, wrote to the queen, and implored justice against the assassins, among whom he named the earl of Bothwel, Sir James Balfour, and his brother, David Chalmers, and four others of her majesty's household, all of them persons who had been mentioned in the bills posted up on the walls at Edinburgh. He urged her to prosecute the guilty with rigour, and to bring them to a speedy trial; and required that out of a regard to decency, and to encourage evidence to appear against them, the persons of the accused should be committed to custody, or at least excluded from her court and presence. With this request the queen did not think proper to comply.

C H A P. LXVII.

OF BOTHWEL, AND THE FATE OF MARY.

ON the day fixed for the trial, Bothwel appeared, but attended with a formidable retinue; besides a numerous body of his friends, he was surrounded by a band of armed soldiers, who marched with flying colours along the streets of Edinburgh. When the court was opened with the usual formalities, an indictment was preferred against Bothwel; and Lennox being called upon to make

good his accusation, one of his dependants, Robert Cunningham appeared in his name; he excused his master's absence on account of the shortness of the time, which prevented him from assembling his friends and vassals, without whose assistance he was afraid of opposing to powerful an antagonist; on this account he requested the court to stop their proceedings, and declared that any sentence which should be passed at that time ought to be deemed illegal. Bothwel, on the other hand, protested against delay; he produced one of Lennox's own letters, in which he importuned the queen to prosecute the murderers. Cunningham's objections were over-ruled. No person appeared as an accuser, no witnesses were examined, nor was any evidence produced against Bothwel, the jury therefore under such circumstances acquitted him of the crime *.

Two days after the trial, a parliament was held, at the opening of which the queen distinguished Bothwel, by appointing him to carry the sceptre before her. Most of the acts passed in this assembly were calculated to favour his ambition: he was continued in the possession of his high offices, and obtained a parliamentary ratification of the place of keeper of Dunbar castle, with the estates annexed to it. Intoxicated by his good fortune, and trusting to his figure and accomplishments, Bothwel now began to carry his views still higher; but the method which he pursued to accomplish his designs evidently shewed, that he was a rash man, who would sacrifice every consideration to effect his purposes, or that he had more than ordinary reasons for confiding in the queen's lenity. Three days after the rising of the parliament, Mary having gone to Stirling, to visit her son, Bothwel assembled his followers, and marching out of Edinburgh with a thousand horse, way-laid the queen on her

* No circumstance in history, has perhaps, given rise to more disputes than the murder of Darnley; some have supposed

her return, near Linlithgow, seized her person, and conducted her as a prisoner to his castle of Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. An outrage so daring and unexpected, excited great indignation among the people; but they were greatly astonished to find that Bothwel, instead of being disgraced, was taken into more favour than ever; that he received a free pardon, for this as well as all other offences, and that Mary took to her arms, the man who had been accused of murdering her former husband, and who had never cleared his character from that foul aspersions. In order to pave the way for this union, Bothwel procured a sentence of divorce from his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, sister to the Earl of Huntly, and on the 15th of May, 1567, he was married to the queen, who was then in the twenty-fifth year of her age.

This was a fatal step in Mary; and to this we may, in a great measure, ascribe all those misfortunes which embittered the remaining part of her life. The nobles, roused to a sense of their own dignity, and of the insult which had been offered to the whole nation, took up arms, and formed an association which filled Mary and Bothwel with great dismay. In this dilemma, they retired to Dunbar, and after an ineffectual attempt to raise posset Bothwel to be the contriver and executor of this crime, and others have imputed it to the earls of Murray, Morton, and their party. The queen too has been charged with being an accomplice with Bothwel, and this opinion has been supported by letters and sonnets, said to be written by Mary to Bothwel, and to have been intercepted in the possession of a messenger whom Bothwel had sent to fetch them from Edinburgh castle, where he had left them. Several writers, however, of distinguished abilities, have endeavoured to prove, that these were all fabricated by Mary's enemies, with a view to ruin her. Those who wish to see this subject fully investigated, may consult the dissertation concerning King Henry's murder, at the end of Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland, and Mr. Whitaker's Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots.

troops, and oppose the confederates, Bothwel* betook himself to flight, while Mary, who had surrendered herself, was sent into confinement to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a small island in the middle of a lake.

While Mary was immured in this lonely prison, exposed to the severest hardships, the nobles compelled her to resign her crown, and having assembled at Stirling, crowned the young prince, James VI, and afterwards appointed the Earl of Murray regent. Beauty in distress is an object capable of moving the most insensible, much more a youth of eighteen. Mary, by her charms and persuasion, prevailed upon a young man, named George Douglas, who was brother to the keeper of the castle, to assist her in escaping from her confinement. This he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat, which he rowed himself ashore. On the news of this event, the spirits of her adherents were roused, and in a few days she found herself at the head of six thousand men. Fresh misfortunes, however, attended her; a battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, in which her army was entirely defeated. Mary stood on a hill, at some distance, anxiously waiting for the issue of the contest; but finding that her affairs were now totally ruined, she fled with the utmost precipitation, and with a few attendants arrived at the borders of England. Agitated by a thousand fears, she dreaded falling again into the hands of the Scotch; and while surrounded by the most gloomy and dismal prospects, she formed a resolution,

* The remaining part of Bothwel's life was marked with misfortune. Having been reduced to the necessity of exercising piracy to support himself and his followers, he was pursued by Sir William Murray and Kircaldy, of Grange, and compelled to take shelter in Denmark, but being discovered by some Scottish merchants, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he remained nearly ten years. He died in 1575, and being stung with remorse, confessed, as is said, that he had been guilty of the king's murder, and revealed the names of those persons who had been his accomplices.

which

which nothing but her critical situation could justify, of throwing herself into the hands of queen Elizabeth, who, instead of protecting her, ordered her to be put into confinement.

As soon as Mary arrived in England, she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, in which she represented the injuries she had sustained, and implored that assistance which her situation required. Elizabeth had resolved upon detaining her in England, and notwithstanding Mary's remonstrances or complaints, she was conducted to Bolton castle, on the borders of Yorkshire, from which, after being for some time amused with vain promises of friendship, she was removed, for better security, to Tuthbury in Staffordshire, and committed to the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, to whom that castle belonged.

The duke of Norfolk was at this time the most powerful man in England; his wife had died a little time before, and he had begun to form a project, which he afterwards more openly avowed, of mounting the throne of Scotland, by marrying the queen of Scots. Elizabeth dreaded such an union, and the duke was arrested, and sent prisoner to the tower; but after being confined there upwards of nine months, he was released, upon promising that he would hold no farther correspondence with Mary. New schemes were, however, set on foot, for restoring the Scottish queen to her former situation, which involved this unhappy nobleman in destruction; a plot was concerted, approved by the pope, and secretly fomented by the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England, and one Rodolphi, a Florentine, who resided in London, under the character of a banker, to which Norfolk was privy. The bishop of Ross, through the violence of his temper, and from a mistaken zeal for the service of his mistress, advised the duke to assemble a few of his followers, and to seize Elizabeth's person; but the duke, who saw the wildness of such an attempt, and who was averse to precipitation, very prudently rejected it. In the mean time, the English court received some im-

perfect hints respecting this plot, by intercepting one of Rodolphi's agents. The duke, his servants, and those suspected, were taken into custody. The weakness and treachery of his associates discovered the whole affair. His offence was considered as of an heinous nature, and Elizabeth was resolved that exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon him, that others might be deterred from holding any correspondence with the queen of Scots. He was therefore tried by his peers, and being found guilty of high treason, suffered death for his crime with great calmness and fortitude.

Other conspiracies were formed, but with no better success, and these seem to have paved the way for the ruin of the unhappy Mary, whose cause suffered more from the ill-judged rashness of her friends, than from the malevolence of her enemies. Every attempt made in her favour added to the rigor of her confinement, and redoubled the vigilance of Elizabeth, and her ministers; they only waited for some specious pretext for executing their vengeance upon her, and this was not long wanting.

About the year 1586, an enthusiastic priest, named John Ballard, who had been educated in the English seminary at Rheims, having returned to Paris, from his mission in England and Scotland, where he had observed a spirit of rebellion among the catholics of these countries, formed a design to dethrone Elizabeth, and to restore, by force of arms, the free exercise of the ancient religion. With this view he came over to England, in the disguise of a soldier. The first person to whom he addressed himself was one Anthony Babington, of Dethic, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of a good family, possessed of a plentiful fortune, and in talents and learning superior to most of his station. This person had resided sometime in France, where he contracted a familiarity with the Archbishop of Glasgow, and by him had been recommended to the queen of Scots. Mary had written him a letter, couched in the strongest terms of friendship, and being naturally of an ardent

ardent temper, he resolved to devote himself to the service of this unfortunate princess. Savage, a furious zealot, who had served in the Spanish army, undertook to assassinate Elizabeth; but as Babington thought this attempt of too much importance to rely upon the arm of one person for the execution of it, he proposed that five resolute gentlemen should be joined with him, in order to ensure its success, and he himself undertook to procure them. He accordingly engaged Edward Windsor, Thomas Salisbury, Charles Tilney, Chidioc Tichburne, Robert Gage, John Travers, Robert Barnwell, John Charnoc, Henry Dun, John Jones, and Robert Polly, all of whom except Polly, were gentlemen of good families, united in the bonds of private friendship. After many consultations were held, and when the plan of their operations was finally settled, Babington himself was appointed to rescue the queen of Scots. Salisbury, with some others, were to excite several counties to arms; but the murder of the queen, the most dangerous business of all, was assigned to Tichbourne and Savage, with four associates. Matters being thus adjusted, while the conspirators were looking forward with anxious hope, to the moment of action, Walsingham, secretary of state, who had been informed of all their motions by Polly, whom he had engaged to act as a spy, resolved to delay their punishment no longer. Ballard, the first mover of the whole affair, was arrested. His associates, disconcerted and terrified, endeavoured to procure safety by flight; but within a few days they were all seized, except Windsor, and committed to the Tower. Influenced either by the fear of punishment, or the hope of pardon, they made a full discovery, and being soon after tried, were all condemned and executed.

The execution of these unhappy men was only a prelude to one of greater importance. Elizabeth and her ministers had now that opportunity which they had been so long looking for, and they were resolved to take every advantage of it. They represented Babington and his

associates, as instruments employed by the queen of Scots, and they produced letters which they ascribed to her in support of this charge. Mary was now watched with unusual vigilance; her private closet was broke open, her papers were seized, and sealed, and sent up to court; her domestics were arrested, and she herself, after being led about for several days, from one gentleman's house to another, was conveyed to Fotheringay, a strong castle, in Northamptonshire.

Various opinions were entertained by Elizabeth's counsellors, respecting the manner in which they ought to proceed against Mary. It was, however, resolved upon, that she should be brought to trial, and for this purpose a commission was issued to forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heiress of James V, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France.

On the 11th of October, 1586, the commissioners arriving at Fotheringay, presented a letter from Elizabeth, in which, after several bitter reproaches, she informed her, that a regard to her own safety had rendered it necessary to bring her to trial. Mary, though surprised at this message, was neither intimidated at the danger, nor unmindful of her own dignity. She asserted her innocence in the most solemn manner, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the commissioners, and with a becoming spirit, maintained, that as she had come into the kingdom an independent sovereign, to implore Elizabeth's protection, and not to submit to her authority, she could be tried only by her peers.

The commissioners employed arguments and entreaties to overcome Mary's inflexibility; they even had recourse to threats; but the vicechamberlain telling her, that by avoiding a trial, she injured her own reputation, she at length yielded, and resolved to submit to her fate with firmness and resolution.

At her appearance before the judges, on the 14th of October,

October, she took care to protest, that by condescending to hear, and give an answer to the accusations brought against her, she neither acknowledged the authority of the court, nor admitted the validity of those acts by which they pretended to try her. The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court, after which the queen's attorney and solicitor opened the charge, with all the circumstances of the late conspiracy; copies of the letters which she was said to have written to Babington and others, were produced; Babington's confession, and those of Savage, and the rest of the conspirators were read, and every art was employed by the crown lawyers, and every power of eloquence called forth, in order to make her appear criminal in the eyes of her judges. Never was a trial carried on with more circumstances of severity, than that of the unfortunate Mary. She desired that such notes as she had taken previous to her trial, might be given up to her, but this request was not complied with; she demanded a copy of her protest, but this also was refused; and though she required an advocate to plead her cause against so many learned lawyers, this even was not allowed her. Mary, however, during the whole of the trial, displayed great magnanimity, and presence of mind. When the queen's counsel had finished, she stood up, and began her defence; she bewailed the unhappiness of her own situation, and lamented that after a rigorous captivity of nineteen years, she should be loaded with an accusation that tended not only to deprive her of life, but to transmit her name with infamy to succeeding generations. She protested her innocence in the strongest terms, denied all correspondence with Babington, or any of the conspirators; maintained that the letters produced against her were forgeries; and added, "I am no stranger to the feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the duties of religion, and abhor the detestable crime of assassination, as equally repugnant to both. And if ever I have
given

given consent by my words, or even by my thoughts, to attempt against the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God."

Two different days did Mary appear before her judges, and every part of her behaviour displayed the magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the modesty of a woman. The commissioners, by Elizabeth's express order, adjourned to the Star Chamber in Westminster, and there after reviewing their whole proceedings, they declared Mary "to be accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and to have imagined divers matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth."

An ineffectual attempt was made by James to prevent the execution of the sentence passed against his mother Mary; but Grey, one of the ambassadors who was sent to England for that purpose, was a wretch who deceived his master, and betrayed the queen, whom he ought to have saved. He encouraged and even urged Elizabeth to get rid of her rival, repeating a trite proverb, "The dead cannot bite." Elizabeth's conduct, however, discovered evident signs of the utmost agitation and disquietude. She became sullen and melancholy, avoided society, and was often heard to repeat with much emphasis, sentences borrowed from some of the devices then in vogue, *aut fer aut feri: ne feriare feri**. Rumours of plots, insurrections; and treasons were every where spread abroad; the fears of the people were worked up to the highest pitch of terror, and while these sentiments prevailed among her subjects, she thought she might safely venture to strike the blow which she had long meditated. Having one day sent for Davison, her secretary, she ordered him to draw out the warrant for Mary's execution, that she might keep it by her, in case any attempt should be made to set her at liberty. When she

my Either suffer or strike; strike that you may not suffer.*

signe.

signed the warrant*, she ordered it to be carried to the chancellor, to have the seal affixed to it; but on the following morning, she dispatched two gentlemen successively to desire Davison not to go to the chancellor, till she should see him. Davison, however, had executed his first orders, at which she appeared to be displeased, and blamed him for his precipitation. As she gave no command for stopping the operation of the execution of the warrant, Davison, in a state of perplexity, laid the whole affair before the council. These courtiers, who probably perceived that the queen wished to throw the blame upon her secretary, by saying, that he had disobeyed her orders, informed him that it was not proper to delay any longer. The warrant was therefore sent off to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, with instructions to see the sentence executed.

On Tuesday, February 7th, 1587, the two earls arrived at Fotheringay, and having demanded access to the queen, read the warrant in her presence, and bid her prepare to die next morning. Mary heard the dreadful sentence without any emotion, and told them that she submitted with cheerfulness to the lot which providence had decreed to her. She laid her hand upon a bible which happened to be near her, and solemnly protested that she was innocent of that conspiracy which had been carried on against the life of Elizabeth. The greater part of the evening she employed in settling her worldly affairs; she wrote a will with her own hand, and distributed her clothes, money, and jewels among her servants,

* The levity of queen Elizabeth's behaviour upon this occasion, was highly unbecoming. "Go," said she to Davison, in an ironical strain, "and tell Walsingham what I have done, though I am afraid he will die for grief when he hears it."—An expression which evidently shows, that she secretly triumphed in the fall of her rival, and that she exulted at the misfortunes of a princess, whom she ought rather to have pitied.

according

according to their rank and merit. At supper she ate moderately, conversed with great ease, and retiring to bed at her usual time, slept calmly a few hours.

Early in the morning, she retired to her closet, and employed some time in devotion; at eight the Sheriff and his attendants entered her apartment, and found her still kneeling, upon which she started up, and with a countenance which betrayed neither dejection nor dismay, advanced towards the place of execution, supported by two of the guards. Her gown was of black silk, her petticoat was bordered with crimson velvet, a veil of lawn, spread out by wire and edged with lace, was fixed to her caul, and hung down to the ground. An *Agnus Dei* hung by a chain from her neck; her beads were at her girdle, and she bore in her hand a small crucifix of ivory. At the bottom of the stairs, she was received by the two earls, and several gentlemen; and there Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, was permitted to take his last farewell. At the sight of a mistress whom he sincerely loved, in such a situation, he burst into tears, and while he was bewailing her condition, and lamenting his own hard fate, in being appointed to convey the mournful tidings of such an event to Scotland, Mary said, "Weep not, good Melvil, there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. This day shalt thou see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her sufferings, as she has long expected. Bear witness, that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son; tell him, I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights; and God forgive all those who have thirsted without cause for my blood."

With much difficulty, she prevailed on the two earls to allow Melvil, with three of her men-servants, and two of her maids, to attend her to the scaffold; it was erected in the same hall where she had been tried, raised a little above the floor, and was covered with black cloth.

Mary

Mary mounted the steps with much alacrity, and after the warrant for her execution was read to her, the dean of Peterborough began a long discourse suitable to the occasion; but she ordered him to forbear, telling him that she was resolved to die in the catholic faith, and falling on her knees, repeated a Latin prayer. When she had finished her devotions, she prepared for the block, by pulling off her veil and and upper garments, and while one of the executioners was rudely endeavouring to assist, she gently checked him, and with a smile, said, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. With calm but undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block, and while one executioner held her hands, the other, at the second stroke, severed her head from her body, which falling out of its attire, discovered her hair to be quite grey, the effect, no doubt, of her cares and sorrows. The executioner took it up, and exposing it, still streaming with blood, to the spectators, the dean crying out "Thus perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies," the earl of Kent alone replied Amen; the attention of the rest was too much engaged with the melancholy scene before them, and being lost in pity and admiration, they could express what they felt only by their tears.

Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots; a princess endowed with every accomplishment of body and of mind, but unfortunate in her life, and in some instances very imprudent in her conduct. The beauties of her person made her the most amiable of women; while the charms of her address, and the affability of her conversation, rendered their impressions altogether irresistible. The vivacity of her spirit, not sufficiently tempered with a sound judgment, and the sensibility of her heart, which exposed her to become the dupe of those around her, betrayed her into errors; but when we reflect upon her situation, and the disposition of those into whose hands she fell, they will, perhaps, appear in a more favourable

favourable light, than her enemies have thought proper to allow. Her distresses were great, and her sufferings were long; while humanity calls forth the pitying tear, let candor throw a veil over that part of her character which we cannot approve.

With regard to Mary's person, all authors agree that in her shape and features, every thing was united which can create love, or excite admiration. Her hair was black, her eyes were grey, her complexion was exquisite, and her hands and arms were remarkably fine and delicate. After her death, none of her women were permitted to approach her body, which was carried into an adjoining room, where it lay for some days, covered with a coarse cloth, torn from a billiard-table. The block, scaffold, and every thing stained with blood, were reduced to to ashes. By Elizabeth's order, her body was buried, not long after, in the cathedral of Peterborough, but James, upon his accession to the English throne, caused it to be removed to Westminster Abbey, where it was deposited among the monarchs of England.

C H A P. LXVIII.

OF HENRY THE FOURTH, OF FRANCE, DESERVEDLY
NAMED THE GREAT.

HENRY applied himself, with wonderful attention and success (assisted, in all his undertakings, by his minister, the great Sully) to cultivate the happiness of his people, by encouraging manufactures, particularly that of silk, the benefit of which France feels at this day. Having re-established the tranquillity, and, in a great measure, secured the happiness of his people, he formed connections

connections with the neighbouring powers, for reducing the ambition of the house of Austria; for which purpose, it is said, he laid deep schemes, and collected a formidable army. Others say, that he designed to have formed Christendom into a great republic, of which France was to be the head.

Whatever may be in these conjectures, it is certain, that while he was making preparations for the coronation of his queen, Mary of Medicis, and was ready to enter upon this grand expedition, he was assassinated in his coach, in the streets of Paris, by one Ravilliac, a desperate fanatic, who mounted the wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, and amidst six more of his courtiers.

The assassin, like some others of that age, thought he had done an acceptable service to God in committing murder; especially as the king was going to assist the Protestants, and consequently still a heretic in his heart. He did not offer to make his escape, and seemed much surprised at the detestation in which his crime was held.

Thus perished Henry IV, one of the greatest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France; and with him perished all his great designs. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind, than is suggested by this untimely event; that a wretch, unworthy of existence, and incapable of one meritorious action, should overturn the most illustrious enterprises, and terminate a life necessary to the welfare of millions!

Henry's greatest weakness was his inordinate passion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemish in his private than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was still a king. He never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, nor to influence him in the choice of his servants.

C H A P LXIX.

OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

THE gunpowder plot was a scheme of the Roman Catholics to cut off, at one blow, on the 5th of November, 1605, the king, lords, and commons, at the meeting of parliament, when it was also expected that the queen and prince of Wales would be present. Never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable. The hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near eighteen months. But when all motives of pity, justice, and safety, were too weak, remorse of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conspirators, conceived a design of saving the life of Lord Mounteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message.

The letter was to this effect: "My lord, stay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire to your country seat, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can
do

do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this letter."

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Lord Salisbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king and council, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation, between doubt and apprehension, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. But the search was purposely delayed till the night immediately preceding the meeting, when a justice of peace was sent, with proper attendants, and before the door of the vault under the upper house, finding one Faux, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and at the same time discovered in the vault 36 barrels of gunpowder, which had been carefully concealed under faggots and piles of wood. Every thing proper for setting fire to the train was found in Guy Faux's pocket, whose countenance bespoke his savage disposition, and who, after regretting that he had lost the opportunity of destroying so many heretics, made a full discovery; and the conspirators, who never exceeded eighty in number, being seized by the country people, confessed their guilt, and were executed in different parts of England.

Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigoted Catholics were so devoted to Garnet, a Jesuit, one of the conspirators, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and in Spain he was considered as a martyr.

CHAP. LXX.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S LETTER, TO HIS WIFE,
AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION.

YOU shall receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines ; my love I send you, that you may keep when I am dead ; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you with sorrows, dear Bess, let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of God that I should see you any more, bear my destruction patiently, and with an heart like yourself.

First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words express, for your many travels and care for me, which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less : but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, that you do not hide yourself many days, but by your travels seek to help my miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child ; your mourning cannot avail me that am but dust.

Thirdly, You shall understand, that my lands were conveyed, *bona fide*, to my child ; the writings were drawn Midsummer was twelve months, as divers can witness ; and I trust my blood will quench their malice who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek also to kill you and your's with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct you I know not ; for all mine have left me in the true time of trial. Most sorry am I, that being thus surprised by death, I can leave you no better estate. God hath prevented all my determinations : that great God, which
worketh

worketh all in all: and if you can live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but a vanity. Love God and begin by times; in him you shall find true, everlasting, and endless comfort, when you have travelled and wearied yourself with all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilst he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an husband to you, and a father to him; an husband and a father that can never be taken from you.

Paylie oweth me a thousand pound, and Aryan six hundred; in Jernsey also I have much owing me. Dear wife, I beseech you, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt, you shall be much sought unto; for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair pretences of men, for no greater misery can befall you in this life than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect to God and the world. As for me, I am no more your's, nor you mine; death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and your's that I desired it; for, know it, my dear wife, your child is the child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth death and his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much, God knows, how hardly I steal this time when all asleep; and it is also time for me to separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied you, and either lay it in Sherburn, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. Time and death calleth me away. The everlasting God, powerful, infinite, and inscrutable God almighty, who is goodness itself, the true light and life, keep you and your's, and have mercy upon me, and forgive my prosecutors and false accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife,

wife farewell. Bless my boy, pray for me, and let my true God hold you both in his arms.

Your's that was, but now not my own,

WALTER RALEIGH.

CH A P. LXXI.

OF CHARLES THE FIRST OF ENGLAND.

THE many struggles between king Charles, who wanted to assume to himself the absolute power of disposing of his people's property; and the parliament, who were willing to grant the king the necessary supplies, provided their grievances were redressed, and the rightful privileges of the subjects secured, at last produced a civil war. The first fatal blow the king's army received, was at Marston-moor, where, through the imprudence of prince Rupert, the earl of Manchester defeated the royal army, of which 4000 were killed, and 1500 taken prisoners. This victory was owing chiefly to the courage and conduct of Cromwell; and though it might have been retrieved by the successes of Charles in the west, yet his whole conduct was a string of mistakes, till at last his affairs became irretrievable.

It is true, many treaties of peace, particularly one at Uxbridge, were set on foot during the war, and the heads of the Presbyterian party would have agreed to terms that would have bounded the king's prerogative. They were outwitted, betrayed, and over-ruled, by the independents, who were assisted by the stiffness and unamiable behaviour of Charles himself. In short, the independents at last succeeded, in persuading the members at Westminster, that Charles was not to be trusted, whatever his concessions might be.

From that moment the affairs of the royalists rushed into ruin. Sir Thomas Fairfax, whose father, lord Fairfax, remained in the north, was at the head of the army, which was now new modelled; so that Charles in a short time lost all his towns and forts, and was defeated by Fairfax and Cromwell, at the decisive battle of Naseby, owing partly, as usual, to the misconduct of prince Rupert. This battle was followed by fresh misfortunes to Charles, who retired to Oxford, the only place where he thought he could be safe.

The Scots were then besieging Newark; and no good understanding subsisted between them and the English parliamentarians; but the best and most loyal friends that Charles had, thought it prudent to make their peace. In this melancholy situation of his affairs, he escaped in disguise from Oxford to the Scotch army before Newark, upon a promise of protection. The Scots, however, were so intimidated, by the resolutions of the parliament at Westminster, that they put the person of Charles into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, probably not suspecting the consequences.

The Presbyterians were now more inclined than ever to make peace with the king, but they were no longer masters, being forced to receive laws from the army, and the independents. The latter now avowed their intentions. They first by force took Charles out of the hands of the commissioners, and then, dreading that a treaty might still take place with the king, they imprisoned 41 of the Presbyterian members, voted the house of peers to be useless; and that of the commons was reduced to 150 independents, most of whom were officers of the army.

In the mean time, Charles, who unhappily promised himself relief from those dissensions, was carried from prison to prison, and sometimes cajoled by the independents with hopes of deliverance, but always narrowly watched.

Several treaties were begun, but all miscarried; and

he had been imprudent enough, after his effecting an escape, to put himself into colonel Hammond's hands, the parliament's governor of the Isle of Wight. A fresh negociation was begun, and almost finished, when the independents, dreading the general disposition of the people for peace, and strongly persuaded of the insincerity of the king, once more seized upon his person, brought him a prisoner to London, carried him before a court of justice of their own erecting, and after an extraordinary trial, condemned him to die.

C H A P. LXXII.

OF THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES.

WHEN Charles, after his trial, returned to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for execution. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say; thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them; and thy head too will they cut off at last, and, therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first."

Every

Every night during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early; and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended, that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banqueting House to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues as his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masks. The people, in crowds, stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event.

The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons, who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shewn him the example. He declared, that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preserve that authority entire, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors. But, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned, that he was justly punished, for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his son as his successor. He also signified his attachment to the Protestant religion, as professed by the church of England. So strong was the

impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him, "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." "You exchange," replied the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown; a good exchange."

Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from the body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

The spectators testified their horror, at that sad spectacle, in sighs, tears, and lamentations. The tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either with active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, which used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.

Charles was executed on the thirtieth of January, 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His aspect was pleasing, but melancholy; and it is probable, that the continual troubles in which he was involved, might have made that impression

on his countenance. In his private character, he was amiable and exemplary. "He was," says lord Clarendon, "the worthiest gentlemen, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian of the age in which he lived." All his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education; while all his virtues were the genuine offspring of his heart.

He lived at a time when the spirit of the constitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he sunk, the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings, before him, expired by treason, or assassinations; but never, since the times of Agis, the Lacedemonian, was there any other sacrificed by his subjects, with all the formalities of justice.

CH A P. LXXIII.

OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S USURPATION.

OLIVER CROMWELL was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdon, and was born the twenty-fourth of April, 1599. Being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. From accident, or intrigue, he was chosen member for Cambridge in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, and much dissimulation, he rose through the gradations

gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax, but, in reality, possessing the supreme command of the whole army. After several victories, he gained the battle of Naseby; and this, with other successes, soon put an end to the war.

In 1649, Cromwell was sent general into Ireland, when, in about nine months, he subdued almost that whole kingdom, and leaving his son-in-law Ireton, to complete the conquest, returned to England. In 1650, he was appointed general and commander in chief of all the forces of the commonwealth, and set out on his march against the Scots, who had espoused the royal cause, and placed young Charles, the son of their late monarch, on the throne.

In 1651, he totally defeated the royalists at Worcester, when the king himself was obliged to flee. After having undergone an amazing variety of dangers and distresses, he landed safely at Feschamp, in Normandy, no less than forty persons having at different times been privy to his escape.

In the mean time, Cromwell, crowned with success, returned to London, where he was met by the Speaker of the house of commons, accompanied by the mayor and magistrates of London, in their formalities.

Having now but little employment, he began to be afraid that his services would be forgotten; he therefore pretended to be dissatisfied with the long parliament. He was sitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating. Upon which he rose up in the most seeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a thing, which made the very hair of his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and began to load the parliament with the vilest

vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members; "For shame," said he, "get you gone. Give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against his conduct: "Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, "O Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, thou art a whore-master; to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. "It is you (continued he to the members) who have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away," cried he, "that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the door to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centered in Cromwell only.

He next annihilated the council of state, with whom the executive power was lodged, and transferred the administration of government to about 140 persons, whom he summoned to Whitehall.

Cromwell all this while wanted to be declared king, but he perceived, that he must encounter unsurmountable difficulties from Fleetwood, and his other friends, if he should persist in his resolution. He was, however, declared lord protector of the commonwealth of England; a title, under which he exercised all the power which had been formerly annexed to the regal dignity.

He next proceeded to new model the government,

and various were the schemes which were proposed, established, and proved abortive; But those schemes were temporary, and suited to each juncture; and it was by his management of the army that he did every thing. He was openly or secretly thwarted by people of property all over England; and however dazzled historians have been with his amazing fortune and power, it appears, from the best evidences, that during the continuance of his protectorate, he was perpetually distressed for money to keep the wheels of his government going.

In the last year of Cromwell's usurpation, a book was published, by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled **KILLING NO MURDER**. Of all the pamphlets which came forth at that time, or perhaps of those which have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. Shall we, said this popular declaimer, who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf? Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never seen to smile more.

All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He found, that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former tranquillity, was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and were perpetually present to his mind. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

The protector's body at last, began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly

sibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous symptoms; and he, at length, saw the necessity of turning his eye toward that future state of existence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately present to him, though lately somewhat obscured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatness. Conscious of this, he anxiously asked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never suffer a final reprobation. "On that you may with confidence rely," said Goodwin. "Then am I safe," replied Cromwell; "for I am sure that I once was in a state of grace!"

Elated by new visitations and assurances, he begun to believe his life out of all danger, notwithstanding the opinion of the most experienced physicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them with great emotion,—“I tell you I shall not die of this distemper! Favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but also to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord!”

Notwithstanding this spiritual consolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the last, was no less an enthusiast than a hypocrite, his disorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illusions, while his inspired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to providence, for the undoubted pledges which they received of his recovery. He died on the third day of September, 1658, being then fifty-nine years old.

C H A P. LXXIV.

THE CHARACTER OF CROMWELL.

THE vigour of Cromwell's genius, and the boldness of his spirit, rather than the extent of his understanding, or the lustre of his accomplishments, first procured him distinction among his countrymen, and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, have been much over-rated. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violences. The SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, and the conscientious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the Covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preserved without talents; and Cromwell was furnished with those that were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act.

He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures; and of commanding the highest respect, amid the coarsest familiarity. By these talents, together with a coincidence of interests, he was able to attach, and to manage the military fanatics; and by their assistance to subdue the parliament, and to tyrannize over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing extraordinary: for an army is so forcible, and at the same time so rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform

perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society.

The moral character of Cromwell is by no means so exceptionable as it is generally represented. On the contrary, it is truly surprising, how he could temper such violent ambition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his most atrocious measure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is possible that, like many others concerned in it, he considered it as the most meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteristic of fanaticism to give a sanction to any measure, however cruel or unjust, that tends to promote its own interests, which are supposed to be the same with those of the Deity, and to which, consequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

C H A P. LXXV.

OF THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

AFTER an exile of twelve years in France and Holland, Charles was restored to the throne of his ancestors, A. D. 1660. It is in-vain for historians of any party to ascribe his restoration to the merits of particular persons. It was effected by the general concurrence of the people, who seem to have thought, that neither peace nor protection were to be obtained, but by restoring the ancient constitution of monarchy.

General Monk, a man of military abilities, and at the head of the army, had the sagacity to observe this; and, after temporizing in various shapes, he made the

principal figure in restoring Charles II. For this he was created duke of Albemarle, confirmed in the command of the army, and loaded with honours and riches.

When the new parliament first met, the leading members exerted themselves chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of the late king; no one yet daring to make any mention of the second Charles. At length the general having sufficiently founded the inclinations of the commons, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that Sir John Granville, one of the king's servants, was now at the door with a letter from his majesty to the parliament. The loudest acclamations resounded through the house, on this intelligence. Granville was called in: and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was greedily read. A moment's pause was scarce allowed. All at once, the house burst out into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted, that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, and that without any exceptions, but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers, when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords, than to the people. After voting the restitution of the ancient form of government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased
from

from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to be presented to his majesty; and he was soon after proclaimed, with great solemnity, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar.

The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure. And, as lord Clarendon says, such were the numbers of the royalists that pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those people dwelt, who had lately done so much mischief.

A committee of lords and commons was dispatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own subjects; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the latter; and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudest acclamations. The States-General, in a body, made their compliments to him, with the greatest solemnity; and all ambassadors, and foreign ministers, expressed the joy of their masters, at his change of fortune.

The English fleet came in sight of the Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament, persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sovereign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet as high admiral. When Charles disembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. Very different was his present triumphant return from the forlorn state in which he left the English coast at Sussex. He now saw the same people, who had ardently fought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety, and repentance for their past delusions.

lusions. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way, wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight, to behold their constitution restored; or rather, like a phoenix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous, from the ruin of its former conflagration.

Fanaticism, with its long train of gloomy terrors, fled at the approach of freedom; the arts of society and peace began to return; and it had been happy for the people, if the arts of luxury had not entered in their train.

CH A P. LXXVI.

OF THE REVOLUTION. A.D. 1688.

ALL the opposition which, during the reign of the second Charles, had shaken the throne, seems to have vanished at the accession of James II. The popular affection towards him was increased, by the early declaration he made in favour of the church of England, which, during the late reign, had formally pronounced all resistance to the reigning king to be unlawful. This doctrine proved fatal to James, and almost ruined protestantism. The army and people supported him, in crushing an ill-concerted rebellion of the duke of Monmouth, who pretended to be the lawful son of Charles II, and as such had assumed the title of king. That duke's head being cut off, James desperately resolved to try, how far the practice of the church of England

England would agree with her doctrine of non-resistance. The experiment failed him. He made the most provoking steps to render popery the established religion of his dominions. He pretended to a power of dispensing with the known laws. He instituted an illegal ecclesiastical court. He openly received and admitted into his privy-council, the pope's emissaries, and gave them more respect than was due to the ministers of a sovereign prince. The encroachments he made, both upon the civil and religious liberties of his people, are almost beyond description, and were disapproved of by the pope himself, and all sober Roman Catholics. His sending to prison, and prosecuting for a libel, seven bishops, for presenting a petition against reading his declaration, and their acquittal upon a legal trial, alarmed his best Protestant friends.

In this extremity, many great men in England and Scotland, though they wished well to James, applied for relief to William, prince of Orange, in Holland, a prince of great abilities, and the inveterate enemy of Lewis XIV, who then threatened Europe with chains. The prince of Orange was the nephew and son-in-law of James, having married the princess Mary, his eldest daughter. He was no stranger to the murmurs of the English, and was resolved to turn them to his interests. He therefore accepted the invitation, and still more willingly embarked in the cause, as he found the malecontents had concerted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

A fleet was equipped sufficient to transport fifteen thousand troops; and it was at first given out, that this armament was designed against France. James, at length, began to see his own errors and the discontents of the people. He would now have retracted his measures in favour of popery, but it was too late. The fleet of the prince was already sailed, and had landed thirteen thousand troops at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay.

The

The expectations of the prince of Orange seemed, at first, to be frustrated. Very few Englishmen offered him their services, though the people were, in general, well affected to his design. Slight repulses were not sufficient to intimidate a general, who had, from early youth, encountered adversity. He continued ten days in expectation of being joined by the malecontents, without success; but, just when we began to deliberate about reembarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, and the country people came flocking to his standard. From this day his numbers began to increase. The nobility, who had composed the court and council of king James, now left their old master to solicit protection from the new.

Lewis XIV had long foreseen this defection, and had formerly offered the king thirty thousand men for his security. This was then refused by James, by the advice of Sunderland, his favourite, who was secretly in the interest of the prince of Orange. James, however, now requested assistance from France, when it was too late. He wrote in vain to Leopold, emperor of Germany, who only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. He had some dependance on his fleet, but they were entirely disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself. He was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men; and it is possible, that had he led them to the combat, without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour. But he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions. The defection of those he most confided in, took away his power and deliberation; and his perplexity was increased, when told that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, had gone over to the prince of Orange. In this exigence, he could not repress his tears, and, in the agony of his heart, was heard to exclaim, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!"

He

He now hung over the precipice of destruction; invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, hated by his subjects, and detested by those who had suffered beneath his cruelty. He assembled the few noblemen who still adhered to his interests, and demanded their advice and assistance. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who was beheaded by James's intrigues in the preceding reign, "My lord," said he, "you are an honest man, have great credit, and can do me signal services."—"Ah! Sir," replied the earl, "I am old and feeble, and can do you but little service; but I once had a son, who could have assisted you, but he is no more." James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The king was naturally timid; and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or bribed by the prince, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of Charles I, and aggravated the turbulence of the people. He was at length, persuaded to think of flying from a nation he could no longer govern, and of taking refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of finding assistance and protection. Thus instructed, he first sent away his queen, who arrived safely at Calais; and soon after, disguising himself in a plain dress, he went down to Faversham, and embarked on board a small vessel for France.

But his misfortunes still continued to follow him. The vessel was detained by the common people, who, not knowing their sovereign, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London, where he was once more received amidst the acclamations of the people.

The return of James was by no means agreeable to William, though he well knew how to dissemble. It was his interest and design to increase the forsaken monarch's apprehensions, so as to indulge him to flee.

He

He therefore received the news of his return with a haughty air, and ordered him to leave Whitehall, and retire to Richmond. The king remonstrated against Richmond, and desired that Rochester might be appointed as the place of his abode. The prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom, nor did the one wish for flight more ardently, than the other desired him away. The king soon concurred with his designs. After staying but a short time at Rochester, he fled to the sea-side, attended by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, where he embarked for France, and arrived in safety, to enjoy, for the rest of life, the empty title of a king, and the appellation of a saint, a title which still flattered him more. There he continued to reside among a people, who pitied, ridiculed, and despised him. He enrolled himself in the order of Jesuits; and the court of Rome, for whom he had lost all, repaid him only with indulgencies and pasquinades.

Amid all his misfortunes, Lewis XIV, who was an accomplished gentleman, as well as a great king, treated him with such much tenderness and respect; but some of the French courtiers were less polite than their sovereign. "There," said one of them, in the hearing of James, "is a simpleton, who has lost three kingdoms for a mass."

From this period the constitution of England, which had fluctuated for so many ages, was fixed. The nation, represented by its parliament, determined the long-contested limits between the king and the people. They prescribed to the prince of Orange the terms by which he was to rule, and chose him for king, jointly with Mary, who was the next protestant heir to the crown. They were crowned by the title of William III, and Mary, king and queen England. The prince saw his ambition at length gratified; and his wisdom was repaid with that crown, which the folly of his predecessor had given away.

C H A P. LXXVII.

OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.

HAD it not been for the influence of the Jesuits over James, the prince of Orange might have found his views upon the crown frustrated. The conduct of James gave him advantages which he could not otherwise have hoped for. Few were in the prince's secret; and when a convention of the states was called, there seemed reason to believe, that had not James abdicated his throne, it would not have been filled by the prince and princess of Orange. Even then it was not done without long debates.

King William's chief object was to humble the power of France, and his reign was spent in an almost uninterrupted course of hostilities with that power, which were supported by England, at an expence she had never known before. But at length, the treaty of Ryswick put an end to those contentions, in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interests seemed entirely deserted; and for all her blood and treasure, the only equivalent she had received, was the king of France's acknowledgment of king William's title to the crown.

The king, after being freed from foreign war, laid himself out to strengthen his authority at home. He conceived hopes of keeping up the forces that were granted him in time of war, during the continuance of peace. But he was not a little mortified to find that the commons had passed a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; and that those retained should be natural English subjects.

A standing

A standing army was this monarch's greatest delight. He had been bred up in camps, and knew no other pleasure, but that of reviewing troops, or dictating to generals. He professed himself, therefore, entirely displeased with the proposal; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from his resolution, and persuaded him to consent to passing the bill. Such were the altercations between the king and his parliament; which continued during this reign. He considered his commons as a set of men desirous of power, and consequently resolved upon obstructing all his projects. He seemed but little attached to any party in the house. He veered from whigs to tories, as interest, or immediate exigence, demanded.

England he considered as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. He used to retire to his seat, at Loo, in Holland, for those moments which he dedicated to pleasure or tranquillity. It was in this quiet retreat that he planned the different successions of Europe, and laboured to undermine the politics of Lewis XIV, his insidious rival in power and in fame. Against France his resentment was ever levelled; and he had made vigorous preparations for entering into a new war with that kingdom, when death interrupted the execution of his schemes.

He was naturally of a very feeble constitution, and it was now almost exhausted by a life of continual action and care. He endeavoured to conceal the increase of his infirmities, and repair his health by riding. In one of his excursions to Hampton-Court, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown off with such violence that his collar-bone was fractured. This, in a robust constitution, would have been a trifling misfortune, but to him it was fatal. Perceiving his end approach, the objects of his former care still lay next his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed

seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him, in private, on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from archbishop Tennison, he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

THE CHARACTER OF KING WILLIAM.

HE was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmness of temper, and intrepidity of spirit; but ungraceful in his person and address, disgustingly cold in his manner, and dry, silent, and solitary in his humour.

To a happy concurrence of circumstances, and a steady perseverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation, and extensive influence, which he so long enjoyed among the princes of Christendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good soldier, though not a great commander.

He has been severely, and justly blamed, for those intrigues, which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart seems to have been as dead to the sympathetic feelings, as his soul was insensible to the charms of literature, and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is possible, that while guiding the great political system, he might be led by the illusions of ambition, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a necessary sacrifice

to

to the welfare of Europe, and the interests of the reformed religion.

England, at least, was obliged to him for abetting her cause, in her grand struggle for liberty and a protestant succession. But she has dearly paid for these blessings, by being involved in wasting foreign wars, in some measure rendered necessary, indeed, by the supineness of her two preceding princes, but in which she ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the contagious practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to support those wars, and by their unavoidable consequence, a ruinous national debt, which daily accumulating, and increasing the influence of the crown, threaten to leave us neither liberty nor property.

C H A P. LXXIX.

OF QUEEN ANNE.

ANNE, princess of Denmark, being the next protestant heir to her father James II, succeeded king William in the throne. As she had been ill treated by the late king, it was thought she would have deviated from his measures. But the behaviour of the French, in acknowledging the title of her brother, who has since been well known by the name of the Pretender, left her no choice. She therefore resolved to fulfil all William's engagements with his allies, and to employ the earl of Marlborough, who had been imprisoned in the late reign, on a suspicion of Jacobitism, as her general. She could not have made a better choice of a general and a statesman; for that earl

excelled in both capacities. No sooner was he placed at the head of the English army abroad, than his genius and activity gave a new turn to the war; and he became as much the favourite of the Dutch, as his wife was of the queen.

He gave the first proofs of his wisdom, by advancing the subaltern officers, whose merits had hitherto been neglected. He gained the enemy's posts without fighting, ever advancing, and never losing one advantage which he had gained.

To this general was opposed, on the side of France, the duke of Burgundy, grandson of the king; a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army. The marshal Boufflers, a man of courage and activity, commanded under him. But these qualifications in both were forced to give way to the superior power of their adversary. After being forced to retire by the skilful marches of Marlborough, after having seen several towns taken, they gave up all hopes of acting offensively, and concluded the campaign with resolutions to prosecute the next with greater vigour.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, received the rewards of his merit, being thanked by the house of Commons, and created a duke by the queen. He afterwards obtained many glorious victories; but those of Blenheim and Ramillies gave the first effectual checks to the French power. By that of Blenheim, the empire of Germany was saved from immediate destruction. Though prince Eugene was that day joined in command with the duke, yet the glory of the day was confessedly owing to the latter. The French general, Tallard, was taken prisoner, and sent to England; and 20,000 French and Bavarians were killed, wounded, or drowned in the Danube, besides about 13,000 who were taken, and a proportionable number of cannon, artillery, and trophies of war.

About the same time, the English admiral, Sir George Rooke, reduced Gibraltar, which still remains in our possession.

The

The battle of Ramillies was fought and gained under the duke of Marlborough alone. The loss of the enemy there has been variously reported. It is generally supposed to have been 8000 killed or wounded, and 6000 taken prisoners.

CH A P. LXXX.

OF THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.
A.D. 1706.

THE union of England and Scotland under one legislature, which had been so long and so ardently desired by some of the wisest heads, and best hearts in the two British kingdoms, was at last accomplished; and, in consequence of it, all disputes concerning the succession to the Scottish crown, fortunately prevented.

The principle articles in this treaty of incorporation were, "That the two kingdoms should be united into one, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; that the succession of the united kingdom should remain to the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants; that the whole people of Great Britain should be represented by one parliament, in which sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote; that the subjects of the united kingdom should enjoy an entire freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, and a reciprocal communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either kingdom; that the laws in regard to public right, policy, and government, should be the same throughout the whole island, but that no alteration should be made in the laws respecting private property; and that all the courts of judicature in

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Scotland

Scotland should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom."

These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority. But this was a much more difficult undertaking than it was first imagined to be. It was not only to be approved by the parliament of Scotland, all the popular members of which were averse to the union, but it was also to pass through both houses in England, where it was not a little disagreeable, except to the ministry, who had proposed it.

The arguments in these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scotch parliament to come into the measure, it was alledged by the ministry, and their supporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property; remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce. The whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests, so as to be enabled to resist all its enemies, to support the Protestant interest, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed, that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shewn, that the taxes, which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means proportionable to their share in the legislature. That their taxes did not amount to a seventh part of those supplied by the English, and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union addressed to the Scotch parliament.

In the English houses it was observed, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be pre-

vented from giving them any disturbance. That in case of any future rupture, England had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, against a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scotch were fired with indignation, at the thoughts of losing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded, in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and considered their new privilege of trading to the English plantations in the West Indies, as a very uncertain advantage.

In the English houses also it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would be always beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities.

It was said that the Scotch reluctantly yielded to this coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. The adherents of the excluded family, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, zealously opposed the treaty; as did also many independent members of the Scottish parliament, on principles of mere patriotism. Of those, the most firm and resolute was Andrew Fletcher, of Salton, a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, a lofty courage, a bold eloquence, and an incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the passing of the Act of Union, and believing it impossible, that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to consent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy, without the influence of English gold, he resolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not share in their reproach, by condescending so far as to live among them.

On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, intreating him to stay. Even after his foot was in the stirrup, they continued their sollicitations,

tions, anxiously crying, "Will you forsake your country?" He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, replied, "It is only fit for the slaves who sold it!" then leaped into the saddle, and put spurs to his horse, leaving them struck with a momentary humiliation; and, forgetting the extravagance of his conduct, at a loss which most to admire, the pride of his virtue, or the elevation of his spirit.

C H A P. LXXXI.

SACHEVEREL'S SERMONS IN DEFENCE OF THE
DOCTRINE OF NON-RESISTANCE ARE BURNT
BY THE COMMON HANGMAN. A.D. 1709.

DOCTOR Sacheverel, a clergyman of narrow intellects and bigotted principles, published two sermons, in which he strongly insisted on the illegality of resisting kings, and enforced the divine origin of their authority: declaimed against the Dissenters, and exhorted the church to put on the whole armour of God. There was nothing in the sermon either nervous, well written, or clear. They owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and are at present justly forgotten. Sacheverel was impeached by the Commons at the bar of the Upper House. They seemed resolutely bent upon punishing him, and a day was appointed for trying him before the lords at Westminster Hall.

Mean while, the Tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence, as the parliament had been in his prosecution. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. Queen Anne

herself was every day present, as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day, as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success.

While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for doctor Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting-houses, and plundered the dwellings of Dissenters; and the queen herself could not but relish those doctrines which contributed to extend her prerogative. The lords were divided. They continued undetermined for some time; but at length, after much obstinate dispute and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty, by a majority of seventeen voices. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph; and, in fact, their faction took the lead all the remaining part of queen Anne's reign. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage against his persecutors.

Soon after, Sacheverel was presented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went, with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen in his way, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth, he was met by one Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with

with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. The church and Dr. Sacheverel, was the universal cry, and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the whole nation.

C H A P. LXXXII.

OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

IGNORANCE and ambition were the great enemies of Lewis. Through the former, he was blind to every patriotic duty of a king, and promoted the interests of his subjects only that they might the better answer the purposes of his greatness. By the latter, he embroiled himself with all his neighbours, and wantonly rendered Germany a dismal scene of devastation. His impolitic, and unjust revocation of the edict of Nantes, obliged the French Protestants to take shelter in England, Holland, and different parts of Germany, where they established the silk manufactories to the great prejudice of their own country. He made and broke treaties for his conveniency, and at last raised against himself a confederacy of almost all the other princes of Europe; at the head of which was king William III, of England. He was so well served, that he made head for some years against this alliance. But, having provoked the English by his repeated infidelities, their arms, under the duke of Marlborough, and those of the Austrians, under prince Eugene, rendered the latter part of his life as miserable, as the beginning of it was splendid.

His reign, from the year 1702 to 1711, was one continued series of defeats and calamities; and he had

the mortification of seeing those places taken from him, which, in the former part of his reign, were acquired at the expence of many thousand lives. Just as he was reduced, old as he was, to the desperate resolution of collecting his people and dying at their head, he was saved by the English withdrawing from their allies; and concluding the peace of Utrecht, in 1713. He survived his deliverance but two years; for he died on the first of September 1715, and was succeeded by his great-grandson, Lewis XV.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

OF AUGUSTUS THE FIRST, KING OF POLAND,
AND HIS SURGEON, JOHN FREDERIC WEISSE.

JOHN Frederic Weisse, born at Kalbe, in the duchy of Wurttemberg, was one of those meritorious characters whom the Elector of Saxony, afterward King of Poland, under the name of Augustus I, honoured with distinguished favour. He had been employed for five years, at the expence of the king, in the foreign hospitals; and the famous Petit, a French surgeon, was his first master. When he returned to the court of his sovereign, he found from him the most honourable reception; but as he had too much merit for any thing to be wanting to his glory, he likewise found in all his first physicians as many adversaries; in a word, his advice was seldom followed.

An accident in one of his toes, which was at first but very slight, had tormented the king for a considerable time; and having been neglected, had produced very alarming symptoms. A consultation of the first physicians being held. Weisse attended as the surgeon,
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and declared for the immediate amputation of the toe. This advice, however, coming from him, the physicians wanted no other reason for rejecting it. The majority of votes, uninfluenced by reason, prevailed. It was determined, however, that a courier should be dispatched to Monsieur Petit, at Paris, to desire his immediate attendance at Bialastock, a castle belonging to Prince Czartorinski, where the king then was.

Whatever dispatch could be employed to accelerate the arrival of Monsieur Petit from Paris, such a great distance had all the inconveniences of a long delay; and Weisse, who was faithfully attached to the king, was soon convinced, that with measures so ill judged, the life of his royal master was in the greatest danger.

After some hours of painful anxiety and irresolution, he at length resolved upon an action, which, whatever were the purity of his motives, might possibly involve him in the most dangerous consequences.

The very night that followed the consultation, Weisse sat up near the bed of his sovereign, with a valet-de-chambre, who was likewise a very extraordinary man of the court of Augustus. He was a baptized Cossack, named Peter-Augustus, because the Czar Peter and King Augustus had been his godfathers. No person could be more zealously devoted to the king; but at the same time there is not a French comedy, in which the valet speaks to his master with so much insolence as did the good Cossack to the king, who, with the utmost good humour, received from him some pretty serious reprimands.

A dose of opium, which the faithful surgeon had administered to the king, was to throw him into a very deep sleep. Scarcely had this taken some effect, than Weisse locked the door of the chamber, and softly approaching the bed, drew from his pocket a number of instruments.

The valet-de-chambre, astonished at these preparations, and whose fidelity neither presents nor menaces could

could have shaken, listened to the surgeon's reasons, and was silent from conviction.

Weisse took the ailing foot, drew it to a chair on the side of a bed, and assured the king, who was quite overcome by drowsiness, and who complained of such an unseasonable dressing, that he had nothing to do but to sleep quietly; and that he had come to take the necessary precautions, that he might be disturbed no more the whole night.

Augustus believed this declaration, and his surgeon forebore to touch him again till he was quite asleep; and soon after, with equal resolution and dexterity, he amputated the toe.

Awakened by the pain, the king angrily demanded again, why he took such an unseasonable time to dress him. Weisse once more appeased him, by saying, that, unfortunately, he had just touched the wound with his needle, at the instant that his majesty had waked for the first time, and that it was the balsam which he had applied to the toe, that caused the pain. The king said no more, and, by the force of the opium, soon slept again.

Augustus slept soundly the whole night, and when he awoke, feeling the most exquisite pain in his foot, he was far, however, from suspecting the cause of it; but he ordered his foot to be immediately dressed; and, by an impulse of curiosity, which Weisse did not expect, he commanded his valet-de-chambre to place a magnifying-glass upon the bed, the better to observe the bad toe, which had been the cause of so much suffering.

It may well be thought, that the valet-de-chambre, and especially the surgeon, must feel a sudden palpitation of heart; and the astonishment of the king too may be easily imagined, who perceived, at the first glance, that his toe had been amputated.

"Who did this?" enquired the king with a tone of anguish and indignation, that would have made the most courageous tremble.

"I, sire,"

"I, fire," answered the surgeon, certain of the goodness of his cause: then drawing the toe from his pocket, he added, "And here, fire, it is."

Augustus.—Presumptuous man! How durst you do it unknown to me, and contrary to my orders?

Weisse.—Pardon me, fire. A faithful and grateful subject, who sees you in the most imminent danger, hazards every thing, in order to preserve your precious life.—If the advice of your first physicians had been followed; if I had delayed amputation till the distant arrival of Monsieur Petit, the mortification would have certainly extended to your foot; and neither my utmost zeal, nor any human assistance, could have done any thing more for your majesty.

Augustus.—And was there no other method than amputation?

Weisse.—No; there was no other. Petit will say the same; I will answer for it with my head.

Augustus, in a milder tone.—Who was present at the operation?

Weisse.—Your majesty's valet-de-chambre.

Augustus.—Very well: observe both of you then, till farther orders, the most inviolable secrecy. And then—(he takes his gold snuff-box, throws away the snuff, and puts therein the amputated toe) receive this, in the mean time, as a remembrance.

The strictest secrecy was observed, and not a person in the court had the least suspicion of what had passed. Twelve days after, arrives Petit. The physicians are instantly assembled; they describe the situation in which they had found the king when they sent for him, and awkwardly enough, the situation in which they suppose him to be at present. The French surgeon, struck with astonishment, and certain of the mortification, from the symptoms which had been observed so many days, exclaimed, that he could not conceive how the king was still alive, and why, in such an emergency, that admitted not a moment's delay, they had sent to

such a distance for useless advice. He added, that no other means could now be thought of but the most immediate amputation, if, indeed, there were still time for it.

Not one of the enemies of Weisse, overwhelmed with shame, could now meet the king's looks; but how much greater was their confusion and surprise, when Weisse went to Petit, and taking the king's snuff-box from his pocket, said to him, "The method, sir, which you recommend, has been already hazarded: here is the toe, with all the symptoms of an incurable mortification."

The just praises of the French surgeon, his repeated assurance that his majesty was under the most skilful hands, and that, being attended by a pupil who had excelled his master, he had no farther occasion for his advice, crowned the merit of a faithful subject, whom the king did not fail to reward with truly royal munificence.

CH A P. LXXXIV.

OF CHARLES THE TWELFTH, OF SWEDEN.

CHARLES XI died in 1697, and was succeeded by his minor son, the famous Charles XII. The history of no prince is better known, than that of this hero. His father's will had fixed the age of his majority to eighteen; but it was set aside for an earlier date, by the management of count Piper, who became thereby his first minister.

Soon after his accession, the kings of Denmark and Poland, and the czar of Moscovy, formed a powerful confederacy against him, encouraged by the mean opi-
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nion they had of his youth and abilities. He made head against them all; and besieging Copenhagen, he dictated the peace of Travendahl to his Danish majesty, by which the duke of Holstein was re-established in his dominions. Charles, who had never in his life, before this siege, heard a general discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked major Stuart, who stood near him, what the whistling which he heard meant. "It is the noise of bullets," replied the major, "which they fire against your majesty." "Very well!" said the king; "this shall henceforth be my music."

The czar Peter was at this time ravaging Ingría, at the head of 80,000 men, and had besieged Narva. The army of Charles did not exceed 20,000 men. But such was his impatience, that he advanced at the head of 8000, entirely routed the main body of the Russians, and raised the siege. Such were his successes, and so numerous his prisoners, that the Russians attributed his actions to necromancy.

Charles from thence marched into Saxony, where his warlike achievements equalled, if they did not excel, those of Gustavus Adolphus.

He dethroned Augustus, king of Poland, and raised Stanislaus, one of his favourite Swedish nobles, to the Polish crown. His name carried with it such terror, that he was courted by all the powers of Europe; and, among others, by the duke of Marlborough, in the name of queen Anne, amidst the full career of her successes against France.

His stubbornness and implacable disposition, however, were such, that he cannot be considered in a better light than that of an illustrious madman; for he lost, in the battle of Pultowa, which he fought in his march to dethrone the czar, more than all he had gained by his victories. His brave army was ruined, and he was forced to take refuge among the Turks at Bender. His actions there, in attempting to defend himself with 300 Swedes, against 30,000 Turks, prove him to have been worse than frantic. The

Turks found it, however, convenient for their affairs to set him at liberty.

But his misfortunes did not cure his military madness, and after his return to his dominions, he prosecuted his revenge against Denmark, till he was killed by a cannon-shot, as it is generally said, at the siege of Fredericshal, in Norway, belonging to the Danes, in 1718, when he was no more than thirty-six years of age.

It has, however, been supposed that Charles was not, in reality, killed by a shot from the walls of Fredericshal, but that a pistol, from some nearer hand, from one of those about him, gave the decisive blow, which put an end to the life of this celebrated monarch. This opinion is said to be very prevalent among the best informed persons in Sweden. And it appears, that the Swedes were tired of a prince, under whom they had lost their richest provinces, their bravest troops, and their national riches; and who yet, untamed by adversity, pursued an unsuccessful and pernicious war, nor would ever have listened to the voice of peace, or consulted the internal tranquillity of his country.

No prince, perhaps, ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few estimable or amiable qualities, as Charles XII. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romantically brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to the charms of the sex; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments; resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprize, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

C H A P. LXXXV.

OF PETER THE GREAT, OF RUSSIA.

IT would far exceed the bounds prescribed to this work, to give even a summary detail of this prince's actions. I must content myself with giving a general view of his power, and the vast reformation he introduced into his dominions.

At a very early period, he associated himself with the Germans, for the sake of their manufactures, which he introduced into his dominions; and with the Dutch, for their skill in navigation, which he practised himself. His inclination for the arts was encouraged by his favourite Le Fort, a Piedmontese; and general Gordon, a Scotchman, disciplined the czar's own regiment, consisting of 5000 foreigners; while Le Fort raised a regiment of 12,000, among whom he introduced the French and German exercises of arms, with a view of employing them in curbing the insolence of the Strelitzes.

Peter, after this, began his travels; leaving his military affairs in the hands of Gordon. He set out as an attendant upon his own ambassadors. His adventures in Holland and England, and other courts, are too numerous to be inserted here. By working as a common ship-carpenter, at Deptford and Saardam, he completed himself in ship-building; and through the excellent discipline introduced among his troops by the foreigners, he not only over-awed or crushed all civil insurrections, but all his enemies on this side of Asia; and at last he even exterminated, excepting two feeble regiments, the whole body of the Strelitzes.

He rose gradually through every rank and service both by sea and land; and the many defeats which he received,

received, especially that from Charles XII, at Narva, seemed only to enlarge his ambition, and extend his ideas. The battles he lost rendered him a conqueror upon the whole, by adding experience to his courage. The generous friendship he shewed to Augustus, king of Poland, both before and after he was dethroned by the king of Sweden, redounds greatly to his honour. He had no regard for rank distinct from merit; and he at last married, by the name of Catharine, a young Lithuanian woman, who had been betrothed to a Swedish soldier; because, after long cohabitation, he found her possessed of a soul formed to execute his plans, and to assist his counsels. Catharine was so much a stranger to her own country, that her husband afterwards discovered her brother, who served as a common soldier in his armies.

But military and naval triumphs, which succeeded one another after the battle of Pullowa with Charles XII, were not the chief glories of Peter's reign. He applied himself with equal assiduity, as I have already mentioned, to the cultivation of commerce, arts, and sciences. As he had visited England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the useful arts, he made a journey into France, in 1717, in order to become acquainted with those, which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artists, in every branch, allured by the prospect of advantage, followed him from France, to settle in Russia; and, on his return to Petersburg, he established a board of trade, composed partly of natives, and partly of foreigners, in order that justice might be impartially administered to all. One Frenchman began a manufactory of fine glass, for mirrors; another set up a loom for working curious tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and the third succeeded in the making of gold and silver lace. Linen cloth was made at Moscow, equal in fineness to that of the Low Countries; and the silks of Persia were manufactured at Petersburg in as great perfection as at Ispahan.

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But Peter, after all his noble institutions, and his liberal attempts to civilize his people, was himself no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for succeeding in the most difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the most magnificent designs; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will, he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to combine their ease or happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to consider them as made solely for his, not he for their aggrandisement.

His savage ferocity and despotic severity turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis, his only son, by his first wife, having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilization, he made him sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown; and lest that deed should not prove sufficient to exclude the czarowitz from the succession, he assembled an extraordinary court, consisting of the principal nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death, but without prescribing the manner in which it should be inflicted. The event, however, took place, and suddenly.

Alexis was seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him; but whether in consequence of the surprize, occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain. We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant son, who bore his own name, and whom he designed for his successor; and as the birth of his son had probably accelerated the prosecution, and increased the severity of the proceedings against Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to disinherit, it is not impossible, but the friends of Catharine might hasten the death of the same

same prince, in order to save the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflexions, which must have succeeded so awful a transaction.

After this event, Peter ordered his wife Catharine to be crowned, with the same magnificent ceremonies, as if she had been a Greek empress, and to be recognized as his successor, which she accordingly was, and mounted the Russian throne upon the decease of her husband. She died after a glorious reign in 1727, and was succeeded by Peter II, a minor, son to the czarowitz.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

SINGULARITIES OF PETER THE GREAT.

FEW people seem to have formed a just idea of the character of Peter the Great, whose singularities exhibit him under a variety of different appearances. Sometimes we behold in him the hero, and sometimes the barbarian; his ferocity at one time inspires us with horror, and a moment after, we are touched by his humanity, and even his politeness. Constitutional vices, strengthened by long habitude, ostened assumed so great power over him, that no restraint whatever could prevent its effect. Had Le Fort lived longer, he might have, perhaps, cured these habits, and perhaps, in the violence of some paroxysm, he might have shared the same fate as old Clytus. The empress Catharine, without doubt, had great ascendancy over her husband, and the gratitude due to her for the affair of Pruth, was the principal cause of her being raised to the throne; but she was too well acquainted with
Peter

Peter to contradict him openly, or to attempt to oppose the torrent of his passions.

Peter had a constant aversion to George I, king of England; he could never forget, that in his passage through Hanover, he had not been treated with that respect which he thought due to him; for this reason, he had always some enterprize planned out in favour of the Pretender.

This sovereign wished to reform his subjects, but he was desirous that it might be by means of submission, and not of reasoning. Hence it happened, that when founding an academy, he confined his subjects to the study of mechanics and mathematics, being unwilling that they should acquire any knowledge which might induce them to quit that blind submission which he required from them. With regard to religion, he wished his people to have some, without being too much attached to their priests, so that he himself sometimes kissed the hands of their *papas*, and sometimes he turned them into ridicule.

He was always meanly dressed, and his attendants cost him very little for their support. Instead of gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and pages, he had a dozen of young nobility, upon the footing of *Denschiks*; a custom which still subsists in Russia, where every officer, according to his rank, has more or fewer *Denschiks* in his service, who are paid by the crown. Peter introduced this custom to give the Russian officers a kind of dignity in the eyes of those of other countries. When he went in the morning to take his seat in any of the colleges, his *Denschik*, remained before the house near his sledges. One of these *Denschiks*, who was afterwards Field Marshal Brutneslin, had a mind to take a part of the breakfast, which Peter always carried with him, but the latter having perceived, that some of his morsels had been gnawed, and having made a mark upon a piece of ham, which he had reserved for his own use, he discovered the delinquent,

quent, who not being able to deny the fact, soon felt the weight of his master's arm on his shoulders.

Peter rewarded liberally and punished severely. No one received so many marks of kindness from him as prince Menzikof, whom he raised from the dirt, and to whom he entrusted the most important offices, though he could neither read nor write. This favourite often committed faults, for which his master severely reprimanded him, forbidding him above all to receive money. Menzikof, however, disregarded this prohibition, and the emperor being informed, got into his sledge, drove to the favourite's lodgings, and finding him in bed, upbraided him in the severest terms with all his iniquities, adding that he had a thousand times deserved death, but that by a special favour, he should escape with only a slight private correction, and immediately brandishing a large cudgel, which he had purposely brought with him, gave the culprit a severe beating, and departed. As he was returning, he met Golofrin, Schafferoff, Apraxin, and other of the grandees; he asked where they were going? They replied, that it was the festival of prince Menzikof, and that they were going to pay their respects to him. "You are in the right," said the emperor, "I will do so too; but suffer me to go before, and do you follow softly." Menzikof's valet de chambre, seeing Peter returning, ran in great terror to inform his master, who did not doubt that he was about to receive a supplement to his correction. Peter, however, entered with a pleasant smile on his countenance, and complimented Menzikof on his festival; telling him that he came to beg the favour of his company to dinner, with those Lords who were behind him, and who soon made their appearance. Menzikof, freed from his apprehensions, put on the best face he could, but his sides and shoulders smarted severely, and cast a cloud over his countenance, spite of all his efforts to conceal what he felt upon that occasion.

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The following adventure with a secretary, is no less tragi-comic. The monarch went one day to the college of the empire, and asked for a certain paper, which was deposited there. The secretary who had it under his care, having sought for it a long time, without being able to find it, Peter became impatient, condemned the secretary to be flogged, and ordered two drummers to inflict the punishment. He then mounted a ladder himself, and began to rummage among the papers, in order to find what he wanted. The secretary embraced that opportunity to escape, and went and threw himself at the feet of the empress, to whom his sister was chamber-maid, begging her to intercede for him. Mean time, the drummers arrived, and having asked what they were to do, the emperor, without turning round, bid them lay hold of the secretary, who was there. Unluckily, there was another sitting at work, they therefore seized him, and having stretched him out on the floor, executed the orders given them, notwithstanding all his cries and protestations. Scarcely was this business finished, when the empress arrived, and made her request. "You have come too late," said the emperor, "the affair is over." "That is impossible," replied she, "this man has never been out of my presence, since he came to beg my assistance." "I, however, heard him make a noise without," returned the emperor. The sufferer was then called in, who in a plaintive tone, related his disaster. "I am sorry for it," said the monarch, "but there is no help now; I shall remember it." Some time after, the secretary, having committed a fault, which deserved flogging, reminded Peter of his promise, and the emperor said, "Well be it so, we are now quits."

Peter punished such of his domestics as suffered themselves to be bribed; but he allowed them, when they received any appointment, to make a present to the cashier, after his own example. He had passed through

through every degree of military rank, and when he sent for his pay, there was always a present for the pay-master, who received it without hesitation.

Peter was indefatigable in every respect, and could sustain prodigious labour in the cabinet; though he often travelled, affairs still went on in their usual train, and his expeditions were almost without number. In affairs of state, war, police, commerce, &c. he wrote all his own dispatches. In like manner, he made out, with the greatest exactness, instructions for his ministers at foreign courts, and all orders to his generals, who commanded either by sea or land. He even kept up a correspondence with the greater part of them, and all his letters were written by his own hand. Thus engaged, he could not endure idleness, negligence, or remissness in others, and when he found a secretary more than once absent, or idle, he made him be tied to his desk for several days successively.

He generally rose very early. When Mr. de Bestuchef the elder, set out for England, he received his instructions from the hand of the emperor himself, at four o'clock in the morning. He fixed the time for the envoys of foreign powers at the same hour, and one of them having once delayed coming till five, the audience was finished so that he was obliged to follow the emperor to the dock-yard, whither he had gone, and having found him there at the top of a mast, he was under the necessity of getting himself hoisted in a basket between the water and the heavens, in order to present his credentials.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

OF GEORGE THE FIRST, AND THE REBELLION
IN 1715.

UPON the death of queen Anne, pursuant to the act of succession, George I, son of Ernest Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and Sophia, grand-daughter to James I, ascended the throne. His mature age, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general peace of Europe, all contributed to his support, and promised a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid. He was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. They were known, to a proverb, for leaving their friends in distress. George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, used to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all the world; and to fear no man." To these qualifications he joined great application to business: but generally studied more the interests of those subjects he had left behind, than of these he came to govern.

George I came over to Great Britain with strong prepossessions against the tory ministry, most of whom he displaced; but this did not make any great alteration to his prejudice in England. In Scotland, however, the discontent broke forth into the flames of rebellion. The earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his own vassals, in the Highlands of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemar, on the sixth day of September, 1715; then assuming the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, he exhorted the people to take
arms

arms in defence of their lawful sovereign. But these preparations were weak, and ill conducted. All the designs of the rebels were betrayed to the government; the beginning of every revolt repressed; the western countries prevented from rising, and the most prudent precautions taken, to keep all suspected persons in custody, or in awe.

The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field near the borders of Scotland; and, being joined by some gentlemen, proclaimed the pretender. The first attempt was to seize upon Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham, while general Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to attack them, before their numbers were increased. The rebels had two methods of acting with success; either marching immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and there joining general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders; or of crossing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed nine hundred men. From their usual infatuation, neither of these schemes were put into execution; for, taking the rout another way, they left general Carpenter on one side, and resolved to penetrate into England by the western border. They accordingly advanced, without either foresight or design, as far as Preston, where they first heard the news that general Wills was marching at the head of six regiments of horse, and a battalion of foot, to attack them. They now therefore began to raise barricadoes, and to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing at first the attack of the king's army with some success. Next day, however, general Wills was reinforced by the troops under Carpenter, and the rebels were invested on all sides. Foster, their general, sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to the English commander, to propose a capitulation. This, however, general Wills refused, al-

ledging

ledging, that he would not treat with rebels; and that all they could expect was, to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms; but they were obliged to submit. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. Their leaders were secured, and led through London pinnioned, and bound together, while the common men were confined at Chester and Liverpool.

While these unhappy circumstances attended the rebels in England, the earl of Mar's forces, in the mean time, increased to the number of ten thousand men, and he had made himself master of the whole county of Fife. Against him the duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain: and, assembling some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with all possible expedition. The earl of Mar, being informed of this, at first retreated, but being joined soon after by some clans, under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, who had signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to march forward towards England. The duke of Argyle, apprized of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain, though his forces were by no means so numerous as those of the rebel army. In the morning therefore of the same day, on which the Preston rebels had surrendered, he drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, but found himself greatly out-flanked by the enemy. The duke, therefore, perceiving the enemy making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition; which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be all formed before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army fell in with the centre of the enemy's, and supported the first charge without shrinking. This wing seemed, for a short time, victorious, as they killed the

the chief leader of part of the rebel army. But Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and, waving his bonnet, cried out several times, *Revenge!* This animated his men to such a degree, that they followed him close to the muzzles of the muskets, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad swords did great execution. A total rout of that wing of the royal army ensued, and general Witham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost.

In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him for two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. The duke, having thus entirely broke the left, and pushed them over the river Allen, returned to the field, where he found that part of the rebel army which had been victorious. But, instead of renewing the engagements, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to attack; till towards evening both sides drew off, each boasting of victory. Whichever might claim the triumph, it must be owned, that all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged only to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the enemy's progress; and delay was to them a defeat. The earl of Mar, therefore, soon found his disappointments and losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto appeared in the interest of the Pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine left the earl to defend his own country, and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned home; for an irregular army is much easier led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

The pretender might now be convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in imagining that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually
desperate;

desperate; yet, with the usual infatuation of the family, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was totally useless. Passing therefore through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, on the twenty-second day of December, on the coasts of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his retinue.

Upon his arrival in Aberdeen, he was solemnly proclaimed, and soon after made his public entry into Dundee. In two days more, he came to Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings for his safe arrival; enjoined the ministers to pray for him in the churches; and without the smallest share of power, went through all the ceremonies of royalty, which were, at such a juncture, perfectly ridiculous.

After this unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprize with the same levity with which it had been undertaken, and embarked again for France, together with the earl of Mar, and some others, in a small ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose; and in five days, arrived at Gravelin. General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the earl-marshal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, which took on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the Continent. In this manner the rebellion was suppressed; but the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success.

The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry shewed no disposition to spare. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute, in the most vigorous manner, the authors of the rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy, as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Wintown; the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir,

and Nairn, were impeached. The HABEAS CORPUS act was suspended; and the rebel lords, upon pleading guilty, received sentence of death. Nothing could soften the privy council. The house of Lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect. Orders were dispatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and the viscount Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited for three weeks longer. Nithisdale, however, escaped in woman's cloaths, which were brought him by his mother, the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the Scaffold on Tower Hill, at the hour appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calmness and intrepidity, pitied by all, seemingly less moved themselves than the spectators.

An act of parliament was also made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms; which proceeding was, in some measure, an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom; when Foster, Mackintosh, and several others, were found guilty. Foster, however, escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; and some time after also, Mackintosh, with some others, forced their way, having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. Four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered; among whom was William Paul, a clergyman, who professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king.

Such was the end of a rebellion, probably first inspired by the rigour of the new whig ministry and parliament. In running through the vicissitudes of human transactions, we too often find both sides culpable; and so it was in this case. The royal party acted under the influence of partiality, rigour, and prejudice; gratified private animosity under the mask of public justice; and, in their pretended love of freedom, forgot humanity. On

On the other hand, the Pretender's party, aimed, not only at subverting the government, but the religion of the kingdom. Bred a Papist himself, he confided only in counsellors of his own persuasion; and most of those who adhered to his cause, were men of indifferent morals, or bigoted principles. Clemency, however, in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all the factious spirit, which has hitherto disturbed the peace of this country; for it has ever been the character of the English, that they are more easily led than driven into loyalty.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME IN FRANCE.

A. D. 1720.

A GREAT and real change was brought about in the commercial world, in the finances of nations and the fortunes of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. This man, professionally a gamester, and a calculator of chances, had been obliged to abandon his own country, for having killed his antagonist in a duel. He visited several parts of the continent; and, on his arrival at Paris, he was particularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV had thrown the French finances. To remedy this evil, appeared a task worthy of his daring genius; and he flattered himself, that he could accomplish it. The greatness of the idea recommended it to the duke of Orleans, whose bold spirit and sanguine temper inclined him to adopt the wildest expedients. Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the immense national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that ab-

forbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this amazing revolution, and the exigences of the state seemed to require such an expedient. Law accordingly established a bank, which was soon declared royal, and united with the Mississippi or West-India Company, from whose commerce the greatest riches were expected, and which soon swallowed up all the other trading companies in the kingdom. It undertook the management of the trade to the coast of Africa; it also acquired the privileges of the old East-India Company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had gone to decay, and given up its trade to the Merchants of St. Malo; and it, at length, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

The Mississippi company, in a word, seemed established on such solid foundations, and pregnant with such vast advantages, that a share in its stock rose to above twenty times its original value. The cause of this extraordinary power deserves to be traced.

It had long been believed, on the doubtful relations of travellers, that the country in the neighbourhood of the river Mississippi contained inexhaustible treasures. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was whispered, as a secret, that the celebrated, but fabulous mines of St. Barbe, had at length been discovered; and that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, a number of miners were sent to Louisiana, to dig, as was pretended, the abundant treasure, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them against the Spaniards and Indians, as well as to protect the precious produce of their toils!

The impression which this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether astonishing. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the stock of the new company. The Mississippi scheme became the grand object, and the ultimate end of all pursuits.

Even Law himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that the chimerical value of the funds, in 1719, exceeded fourscore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was almost all in the hands of government.

This profusion of paper, in which only the debts of the state were paid off, first occasioned suspicion, and afterwards spread a general alarm. The late financiers, in conjunction with the great bankers, exhausted the Royal Bank, by continually drawing upon it for large sums. Every one wanted to convert his notes into cash; but the disproportion of specie was immense. Public credit sunk at once; and a tyrannical edict, forbidding private persons to keep by them above five hundred livres, served only to crush it more effectually, and to inflame the injured and insulted nation against the regent. Law, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances, and loaded with respect, was now execrated, and obliged to flee from a country he had beggared, without enriching himself, in order to discharge the debts of the crown. The distress of the kingdom was so great, and the public creditors so numerous, that government was under the necessity of affording them relief. Upwards of five hundred thousand sufferers, chiefly fathers of families, presented their whole fortunes in paper; and government, after liquidating these debts, which are said to have originally amounted to a sum too incredible to be named, charged itself with the enormous debt of sixteen hundred and thirty-one millions, to be paid in specie.

Thus ended in France the famous Mississippi scheme; so ruinous to the fortunes of individuals, but ultimately beneficial to the state, which it relieved from an excessive load of debt, though it threw the finances, for a time, into the utmost disorder. Its effects, however, were not confined to that kingdom. Many foreigners had adventured in the French funds, and the contagion of

stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock; but its virulence was more peculiarly reserved for England, where it appeared in a variety of forms, and exhausted all its fury.

C H A P. LXXXIX.

OF THE SOUTH-SEA SCHEME.

THE South-Sea scheme, evidently borrowed from that of Law, excited the avidity of the English nation. But it will be necessary, before I enter upon that subject, to give some account of the nature of the stocks, and the rise of the South-Sea company.

Nothing is so much talked of in London, or so little understood, as the national debt, the public funds, and the stocks. I shall, therefore, endeavour to give a general idea of them. The national debt is the residue of those immense sums, which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise, by way of voluntary loan, for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not found it hitherto convenient to pay off.

The public funds consist of certain ideal aggregation, or masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by parliament to pay the interest of that money; and the surplus of these taxes, which has always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what is called the sinking fund, as it was originally intended to be applied towards the reduction, or sinking of the national debt.

The stocks are the whole of this public and funded debt; which being divided into an infinity of portions or shares,

shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be readily transferred from one person to another, and converted into cash for the purposes of business or pleasure, and which rise or fall in value, according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

Such is the present state of the stocks, which are subject to little fluctuation, except in times of national danger or calamity; for as the public creditors have long given up all expectation of ever receiving their capital from government, they are not much affected by great national prosperity, unless attended with a sudden or extraordinary influx of money. A strong probability, amounting to a speculative certainty, that the interest of the national debt will continue to be regularly paid, without any farther reduction, must raise the stocks nearly as high as they can go; and this is the common effect of peace and tranquillity.

Formerly, however, the case was otherwise. The loans were chiefly made by corporations, or great companies of merchants; who, besides the stipulated interest, were indulged with certain commercial advantages. To one of those companies, was granted, in 1711, the monopoly of a projected trade to the Spanish settlement on the South-Sea; an entire freedom to visit which, it was supposed England would obtain, either from the house of Austria or that of Bourbon, in consequence of the prodigious successes of the war.

At the peace of Utrecht, no such freedom was obtained. But the Asiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great Britain by the commercial treaty with Philip V, as well as the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto-Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities, was vested exclusively in the South-Sea company. By virtue of this contract, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama,

Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements; and the company was farther permitted to freight in the ports of the South-Sea vessels of four hundred tons burden; in order to convey its negroes to all the coasts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as it pleased; to nominate the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold or silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export.

Nor was this all. The agents of the British South-Sea company, under cover of the importation which they were authorized to make by the ship sent annually to Porto-Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish colonies, without limitation or reserve. Instead of a vessel of five hundred tons burden, as stipulated by the treaty, they usually employed one of a thousand tons, exclusive of water and provisions. She was accompanied by three or four smaller vessels, which supplied her wants, and mooring in some neighbouring creek, furnished her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, in order to replace such as had been previously sold.

By these various advantages, the profits of the South-Sea company became excessively great, and the public supposed them yet greater than they really were. Encouraged by such favourable circumstances, and by the general spirit of avaricious enterprise, Sir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a scrivener, was tempted to project, in 1719, the infamous South-Sea scheme. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the interest, and reducing all the funds into one, he proposed that the South-Sea company should become the sole public creditor. A scheme so plausible, and so advantageous to the state, was readily adopted by the ministry, and soon received the sanction of an act of parliament. The purport of this act was, "That the South-Sea company should be authorized to buy up, from the several proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an interest of five per cent. and that after the expiration of six years, the interest

interest should be reduced to four per cent. and the capital be redeemable by parliament." But as the directors could not be supposed possessed of money sufficient for so great an undertaking, they were empowered to raise it by different means; and particularly by opening a subscription, and granting annuities to such public creditors as should think proper to exchange the security of the crown, for that of the South-Sea company, with the emoluments which might result from their commerce.

While this affair was in agitation, the stock of the South-Sea company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred pounds; and, in order to raise it still higher, Blount, the projector of the scheme, circulated a report, on the passing of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca would be exchanged, as it is to be wished they had, for some places in Peru, by the cession of which, the British trade to the South-Sea would be much enlarged. In consequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of prodigious dividends, the subscription-books were no sooner opened, than persons of all ranks and conditions, as well as all ages and sexes, crowded to the South-Sea House, eager to become proprietors of stock. The first purchases were, in a few weeks, sold for double the money paid for them; and the delusion, or rather the infatuation, was carried so far, that stock sold, at last, for ten times its original value. New projectors started up every day, to avail themselves of the avarice and credulity of the nation; and the Welch copper-company, the York building-company, and many others were formed.

No interested project was so absurd as not to met with encouragement, during the public delirium; but the South-Sea scheme continued to be the object of attraction. At length, however, to use the phrase of the times, the bubble began to burst. It was discovered, that those who were thought to be in the secret, had disposed of all their stock while the tide was at his height. A general alarm was spread. Every one wanted to sell,

and nobody to buy, except at a very reduced price. The stock fell as rapidly as it had risen, and to the lowest ebb; so that, in a little time, nothing was to be seen but the direful effects of its violence—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies! nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of disappointed ambition; the execrations of beggared avarice; the pathetic wailings of innocent credulity, of grief, and unexpected poverty, of the frantic howlings of despair! The timely interposition, and steady wisdom of parliament only could have prevented a national bankruptcy.

A committee of the house of commons was chosen, by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings relative to the execution of the South-Sea act; and this committee discovered, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing of the bill. Mr. Aislaby, chancellor of the exchequer, who had shared largely in that stock, was expelled the house of commons, and committed to the tower, for having promoted the destructive execution of “the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit; and having combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit.” Mr. secretary Craggs, and his father, also great delinquents, died before they underwent the censure of the house; but the commons resolved nevertheless, that Mr. Craggs, senior, was “a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, treasurer to the South-Sea company, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and, therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, at the time of his death, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers by the South-Sea scheme.” The estates of the directors were also confiscated by act of parliament, and directed to be applied to the same purpose, after a certain

certain allowance was deducted for each director, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The commons having thus punished the chief promoters of this iniquitous scheme, by stripping them of their ill-got wealth, proceeded to repair, as far as possible, the mischiefs it had occasioned. They accordingly prepared a bill for that purpose. On the inquiries relative to the framing of this bill it appeared, "That the whole capital stock of the South-Sea company; at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds; that the stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds; that the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity, being the profit arising from the execution of the fraudulent stock-jobbing scheme. Out of this, it was enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public sufferers. It was likewise enacted, that several additions should be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right; and that, after such distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among the proprietors." By these wise and equitable regulations, public credit was restored, and the ferment of the nation gradually subsided.

C H A P. XC.

OF GEORGE THE SECOND, AND HIS MINISTER,
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. A.D. 1727.

UPON the death of George I, his son, George II, ascended the throne; of inferior abilities to the late king, and consequently still more strongly attached to his dominions on the continent.

Sir Robert Walpole was considered as first minister of England when George I died; and some differences having happened between him and the prince of Wales, it was generally thought, upon the accession of the latter to the crown, that Sir Robert would be displaced. That might have been the case, could another person have been found equally capable, as he was, to manage the house of commons, and to gratify that predilection for Hanover, which George II inherited from his father. No minister ever understood better the temper of the people of England, and none perhaps ever tried it more. He filled all places of power, trust, and profit, and almost the house of commons itself, with his own creatures; but peace was his darling object, because he thought that war must be fatal to his power. During his long administration, he never lost a question that he was in earnest to carry. The excise scheme was the first measure that gave a shock to his power; and even that he could have carried, had he not been afraid of the spirit of the people without doors, which might have either produced an insurrection, or endangered his interest in the next general election.

Walpole, however, was never known to attempt any perversion of the known laws of the kingdom. He was so far from checking the freedom of debate in parliament, that he bore with equanimity the most scurrilous abuse that was thrown out to his face. He concluded a masterly speech in the house of commons, concerning patriotism, with the following expressions: "Gentlemen," said he, "have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable virtue, when duly practised; but I am sorry to observe, that of late it has been so much hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the worst of purposes. A patriot! why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could rise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in a night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot."

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With regard to the king's own personal concern in public matters, Walpole was rather his minister than his favourite; and his majesty often hinted to him, as Walpole himself has been heard to acknowledge, that he was responsible for all the measures of government.

CH A P. XCI.

CHARACTER OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, BY LORD
CHESTERFIELD.

I MUCH question whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity; for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled, and in a manner incorporated themselves, with every thing that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered nor more abused; and his long power was probably the chief cause of both. I was much acquainted with him, both in his public and his private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character; and therefore my picture of him will, perhaps, be more like him than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life, he was good-natured, cheerful, social; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals. He had a coarse strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a minister, but without a certain elevation of mind, necessary for great good or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his desire of making a great fortune. He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu. He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory.

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He was both the best parliament man, and the ablest manager of parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful, rather than an eloquent speaker; he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the house, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration; and he employed it with a success which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II; but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion, he brought it to that perfection, which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men up to his purpose. A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed impudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found any body proof against pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art; for he laughed at, and ridiculed all notions of public virtue, and the love of one's country, calling them "Flights of classical learning;" declaring himself at the same time, "No saint, no Spartan, no reformer."

He would frequently ask young fellows, at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted, "Well, are you to be an old Roman; a patriot? You will soon come off

of that, and grow wiser." And thus he was more dangerous to the morals, than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded he meant no ill in his heart.

He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so. He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind, and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession; which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people, whose blasted characters reflected upon his own. He was loved by many, but respected by none; his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity. He was not vindictive, but on the contrary, very placable to those who had injured him the most. His good humour, good nature, and beneficence, in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

His name will not be recorded in history among the "best men," or the "best ministers;" but much less ought it to be ranked among the worst.

C H A P. XCII.

SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD, IN
THE HOUSE OF LORDS, FEB. 22, 1740, ON THE
PENSION BILL.

My Lords,

IT is now so late, and so much has been said in favour of the motion for the second reading of the pension bill, by lords much abler than I am, that

that I shall detain you but a very short while with what I have to say upon the subject. It has been said by a noble duke, that this bill can be looked on only as a bill for preventing a grievance that is foreseen, and not as a bill for remedying a grievance that is already felt; because it is not asserted, nor so much as insinuated, in the preamble of the bill, that any corrupt practices are now made use of, for gaining an undue influence over the other house. My lords, this was the very reason for bringing in the bill. They could not assert, that any such practices are now made use of, without a proof; and the means for coming at this proof, is what they want, and what they propose to get by this bill. They suspect there are such practices, but they cannot prove it. The crime is of such a secret nature, that it can very seldom be proved by witnesses; and therefore they want to put it to the trial, at least, of being proved by the oath of one of the parties; which is a method often taken in cases that can admit of no other proof. This is, therefore, no argument of the grievance not being felt; for a man may very sensibly feel a grievance, and yet may not be able to prove it. That there is a suspicion of some such practices being now made use of, or that they will soon be made use of, the many remonstrances from all parts of the united kingdoms are a sufficient proof. That this suspicion has crept into the other house, their having so frequently sent up this bill is a manifest demonstration, and a strong argument for its being necessary to have some such bill passed into a law. The other house must be allowed to be better judges of what passes, or must pass, within their own walls, than we can pretend to be. It is evident, they suspect that corrupt practices have been, or soon may be, made use of, for gaining an undue influence over some of their measures; and they have

calculated

calculated this bill for curing the evil if it is felt, for preventing it if it is only foreseen. That any such practices have actually been made use of, or are now made use of, is what I shall not pretend to affirm; but I am sure I shall not affirm the contrary. If any such are made use of, I will, with confidence, vindicate his majesty. I am sure he knows nothing of them. I am sure he will disdain to suffer them: but I cannot pass such a compliment upon his ministers, nor upon any set of ministers that ever was, or ever will be, in this nation; and, therefore, I think I cannot more faithfully, more effectually, serve his present majesty, as well as his successors, than by putting it out of the power of ministers to gain any corrupt influence over either house of parliament. Such an attempt may be necessary for the security of the minister; but never can be necessary for, must always be inconsistent with, the security of his master: and the more necessary it is for the minister's security, the more inconsistent it will always be with the king's, and the more dangerous to the liberties of the nation.

To pretend, my lords, that this bill diminishes, or any way encroaches upon the prerogative, is something very strange. What prerogative, my lords? Has the crown a prerogative to bribe; to infringe the law, by sending its pensioners into the other house? To say so, is destroying the credit, the authority of the crown, under the pretence of supporting its prerogative. If his majesty knew that any man received a pension from him, or any thing like a pension, and yet kept his seat in the other house, he would himself declare it, or withdraw his pension, because he knows it is against law. This bill, therefore, no way diminishes or encroaches upon the prerogatives of the crown, which can never be exercised but for the public good. It diminishes
only

only the prerogatives usurped by ministers; which are never exercised but for its destruction. The crown may still reward merit in the proper way, that is, openly. The bill is intended, and can operate only against clandestine rewards or gratuities given by ministers. These are scandalous, and never were, nor will be, given, but for scandalous services.

It is very remarkable, my lords, it is even diverting, to see such a squeamishness about perjury upon this occasion, amongst those, who, upon other occasions, have invented and enacted multitudes of oaths, to be taken by men who are under great temptations, from their private interest, to be guilty of perjury. Is not this the case of almost every oath that relates to the collection of the public revenue, or to the exercise of any office? Is not this perjury one of the chief objections made by the dissenters against the Test and Corporation Act? And shall we shew a less concern for the preservation of our constitution, than for the preservation of our church? The reverend bench should be cautious of making use of this argument; for if they will not allow us an oath for the preservation of the former, it may induce many people to think they ought not to be allowed an oath for the preservation of the latter.

By this time, I hope, my lords, all the inconveniences pretended to arise from this bill have vanished; and therefore I shall consider some of the arguments brought to shew that it is not necessary. Here I must observe, that most of the arguments made use of for this purpose, are equally strong for a repeal of the laws we have already in being against admitting pensioners to sit and vote in the other house. If it be impossible to suppose, that a gentleman of great estate and ancient family can, by a pension, be influenced to do what he ought not to

do;

do; and if we must suppose, that none but such gentlemen can ever get into the other house, I am sure the laws for preventing pensioners from having seats in that house are quite unnecessary, and ought to be repealed. Therefore, if these arguments prevail with your lordships, to put a negative upon the present question, I shall expect to see that negative followed by a motion for the repeal of those laws; nay, in a few sessions, I shall expect to see a bill brought in for preventing any man's being a member of the other house but such as have some place or pension under the crown. As an argument for such a bill, it might be said, that his majesty's most faithful subjects ought to be chosen members of parliament, and that those gentlemen will always be most faithful to the king that receive the king's money. I shall grant, my lords, that such gentlemen will be always the most faithful, and the most obedient to the minister; but for this very reason, I should be for excluding them from parliament. The king's real interest, however much he may be made by his ministers to mistake it, must always be the same with his people's; but the minister's interest is generally distinct from, and often contrary to both: therefore I shall always be for excluding, as much as possible, from parliament, every man who is under the least inducement to prefer the interest of the minister to that of both king and people: and this I take to be the case of every gentleman, let his estate and family be what they will, that holds a pension at the will of the minister.

Those who say, they depend so much upon the honour, integrity, and impartiality of men of family and fortune, seem to think our constitution can never be dissolved as long as we have the shadow of a parliament. My opinion, my lords, is so very different, that if ever our constitution be dissolved,
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if ever an absolute monarchy be established in this kingdom, I am convinced, it will be under that shadow. Our constitution consists in the two houses of parliament being a check upon the crown, as well as upon one another. If that check should ever be removed, if the crown should, by corrupt means, by places, by pensions, and bribes, get the absolute direction of our two houses of parliament, our constitution will, from that moment, be destroyed. There would be no occasion for the crown to proceed any further. It would be ridiculous to lay aside the forms of parliament; for under that shadow our king would be more absolute, and might govern more arbitrarily, than he could do without it. A gentleman of family and fortune, would not, perhaps, for the sake of a pension, agree to lay aside the forms of government; because, by his venal service there, he earns his infamous pension, and could not expect the continuance of it if those forms were laid aside: but a gentleman of family and fortune may, for the sake of a pension, whilst he is in parliament, approve of the most blundering measures, consent to the most excessive and useless grants, enact the most oppressive laws, pass the most villainous accounts, acquit the most heinous criminals, and condemn the most innocent persons, at the desire of that minister who pays him his pension. And if a majority of such house of parliament consisted of such men, would it not be ridiculous in us to talk of our constitution, or to say we had any liberty left. This misfortune, this terrible condition, we may be reduced to by corruption: as brave, as free a people as we, the Romans, were reduced to it by the same means; and to prevent such a horrid catastrophe, is the design of this bill.

If people would at all think, if they would consider the consequences of corruption, there would be

be no occasion, my lords, for making laws against it. It would appear so horrible, that no man would allow it to approach him. The corrupted ought to consider, that they do not sell their vote, or their country only: these, perhaps, they may disregard; but they sell likewise themselves: they become the bond slaves of the corrupter, who corrupts them, not for their sakes, but for his own. No man ever corrupted another for the sake of doing him a service. And, therefore, if people would but consider, they would always reject the offer with disdain. But this is not to be expected. The histories of all countries, the history even of our own country, shews it is not to be depended on. The proffered bribe, people think, will satisfy the immediate cravings of some infamous appetite; and this makes them swallow the alluring bait, though the liberties of their country, the happiness of their posterity, and even their own liberty, evidently depend upon their refusing it. This makes it necessary, in every free state, to contrive, if possible, effectual laws against corruption: and, as the laws we now have for excluding pensioners from the other house, are allowed to be ineffectual, we ought to make a trial, at least, of the remedy now proposed: for, though it should prove ineffectual, it will be attended with this advantage, that it will put us upon contriving some other remedy that may be effectual; and the sooner such a remedy is contrived and applied, the less danger we shall be exposed to of falling into that fatal distemper, from which no free state, where it has once become general, has ever yet recovered.

C H A P. XCII.

OF THE REBELLION WHICH BROKE OUT IN
SCOTLAND, IN THE YEAR 1745.

ON the fourteenth of July, 1745, the Pretender's eldest son sailed for Scotland in a small frigate, and landed there on the twenty-seventh of July. He soon obtained a considerable force, and proceeding through several parts of Scotland, had his father proclaimed king, while he himself assumed the title of prince-regent. He took several places, and gained some advantages over the king's forces sent against him; but at length the duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite of the English army, put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. He resolved, therefore, to come to a battle as soon as possible, and marched forward, while the young adventurer retired at his approach. The duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, and some other lords attached to his family and cause. After having refreshed his troops there for some time, he renewed his march; and in twelve days came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. This was a place, where the rebels might have disputed his passage; but they seemed now totally void of all counsel and subordination, without conduct, and without expectation. The duke still proceeded in his pursuit; and, at length, had advice that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to the plain of Culloden, which was about nine miles distant, and there intended to give him battle.

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On this plain the Highlanders were drawn up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon. The cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the enemy, while their's, being but ill served, was ineffectual. One of the great errors in all the Pretender's warlike measures, was his subjecting undisciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repressing their native ferocity, from which alone he could hope for success. After they had stood the English fire for some time, they, at length, became impatient for closer engagement; and about five hundred of them attacked the English left wing, with their accustomed fierceness. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battallions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy by a terrible and close discharge. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argylshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the enemy's flank, and which the rebels had left but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In less than thirty minutes, they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men.

Civil war is in itself terrible, but still more so when heightened by cruelty. How guilty soever men may be, it is ever the business of a soldier to remember, that he is only to fight an enemy that opposes him, and to spare the suppliant. This victory was in every respect complete; and humanity to the conquered would even have made it glorious. The conquerors often refused mercy to wretches, who were defenceless or wounded; and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner.

Thus sunk all the hopes and ambition of the young adventurer. One short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind,

kind, except such as fought to take his life. To the good-natured, subsequent distress often atones for former guilt; and while reason would repress humanity, yet our hearts plead in favour of the wretched. The duke, immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed. The conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and, after a short time, the whole country round was one scene of slaughter, desolation, and plunder. Justice seemed forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name.

In the mean time, the unhappy fugitive adventurer wandered from mountain to mountain, a wretched spectator of all these horrors, the result of his ill-guided ambition. He now underwent a similarity of adventures with Charles II, after the defeat at Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages without attendants, and exposed to the mercy of peasants, who could pity but not support him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, thirty thousand pounds being offered for his head. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals. One day, having walked from morning till night, pressed by hunger, and worn out with fatigue, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. "The son of your king," said he, entering, "comes to beg a bit of bread, and clothes. I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take the advantage of my misfortunes. Take these rags, which have for some time been my only covering, and keep them. You may, probably, restore them to me, one day, when seated on the throne of the kings of Great Britain." His host was touched with his distress, assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged his secret.

In this manner he wandered among the frightful wilds of Glengary, for near six months, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still finding some expedient to save him from captivity and death. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived in Lochnanach, in which he embarked for France, and safely landed on the coast of Brittany.

While the prince thus led a wandering and solitary life, the scaffolds and the gibbets were bathed with the blood of his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed on Kennington Common, in the neighbourhood of London, whose constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than perhaps their victories could have done. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton; seven at Penrich; and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons; and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, the Lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned. The other two were beheaded on Tower-Hill. Kilmarnock, either from conviction, or from the hope of a pardon, owned his crime, and declared his repentance of it. On the other hand, Balmerino, who had from his youth been bred to arms, died in a more daring manner. When his fellow sufferer, as commanded, bid God bless king George, Balmerino still held fast to his principles, and cried out, God bless king James, and suffered with the utmost intrepidity. Lord Lovat, and Mr. Radcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, suffered the same fate with equal resolution.

Thus ended a rebellion, dictated by youth and presumption, and conducted without art or resolution. The family of Stuart found fortune become more adverse, at every new solicitation of her favours. Let private men, who complain of the miseries of this life, only turn to the vicissitudes in that family, and learn to bless God, and be happy.

C H A P. XCIV.

OF THE PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON DAMIEN FOR
ATTEMPTING TO ASSASSINATE THE FRENCH
KING.

WHILE the English ministry, in compliance with the voice of the people, were bringing to punishment admiral Byng, whom they considered as the cause of their greatest misfortunes, and with whom they hoped their misfortunes would expire, the French were enjoying the tortures of a maniac, who had attempted to kill their king, by stabbing him with a penknife between the fourth and fifth ribs, as he was stepping into his coach. On this fanatical wretch, named Francis Damien, whose gloomy mind had always bordered upon madness, and whose understanding was now evidently disordered by the disputes between the king and the parliament relative to religion, was practised, without effect, every refinement in cruelty that human invention could suggest, in order to extort a confession of the reasons that induced him to make an attempt upon the life of his sovereign. He maintained a sullen silence in the midst of the most exquisite torments, or expressed his agony only in frantic ravings. And his judges, tired out with his obstinacy, at last thought proper to terminate his sufferings by a death shocking to humanity; which, although the act of a people who pride themselves in civility and refinement, might fill the heart of savages with horror. He was conducted to the Grève, the common place of execution, amidst a vast concourse of the populace; stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves.

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One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur. His thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and, to complete the awful catastrophe, tight ligatures being tied round his limbs, he was torn to pieces by young and vigorous horses.

CH A P. XCV.

OF THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

ON the twenty-fifth day of October, 1760, George II, without any previous disorder, was found by his domestic servants expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that, as the weather was fine, he would walk out. In a few minutes after this, being left alone, he was heard to fall upon the floor. The noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him into bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might sent for; but before her arrival he expired, in the 77th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign, in the midst of victory; and at that very period, when the universal enthusiasm of conquest began to subside into more sober reflections. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode and time of his death, it was he. The factions, which had been nursing in his reign, had not yet come to maturity; and all their virulence threatened to fall upon his successors.

The memory of George II. is reprehensible on no head, but his predilection for his electoral dominions. He never could separate an idea that there was any dif-

ference between them and his regal dominions: and he was sometimes ill enough advised to declare so much in his speeches to parliament. We are, however, to remember, that his people gratified him in this partiality, and that he never acted by power or prerogative. He was just rather than generous; and in matters of economy, either in his state, or his household, he was willing to connive at abuses, if they had the sanction of law and custom. By this means, those mismanagements about his court were multiplied to an enormous degree, and even under clerks in offices amassed fortunes ten times greater than their legal salaries or perquisites could raise. He was not very accessible to conversation, and therefore it was no wonder that, having left Germany after he had attained to man's estate, he still retained foreign notions both of men and things. In government he had no favourite; for he parted with Sir Robert Walpole's administration with great indifference, and shewed very little concern at the subsequent revolutions among his servants. This quality may be deemed a virtue, as it contributed greatly to the internal quiet of his reign, and prevented the people from loading the king with the faults of his ministers.

In his personal disposition he was passionate, but placable, fearless of danger, fond of military parade, and enjoyed the memory of campaigns in which he served when young. His affections, either public or private, were never known to interfere with the ordinary course of justice; and though his reign was distracted by party, the courts of justice were never better filled than under him. This was a point in which all factions were agreed.

C H A P. XCVI.

OF GEORGE THE THIRD, AND THE RESIGNATION
OF MR. PITT.

GEORGE III, the eldest son of Frederick, prince of Wales, was born on the 4th of June 1738, and proclaimed king of Great Britain on the 26th of October 1760. He ascended the throne with great advantages. His being a native of England prejudiced the people in his favour. He was in the bloom of youth, in his person tall and comely, and at the time of his accession, Great Britain was in the highest degree of reputation and prosperity. The first acts of his reign seemed also calculated to convince the public, that the death of his predecessor should not relax the operations of the war. Accordingly, in 1761, the island of Belleisle, on the coast of France, surrendered to his Majesty's ships and forces under commodore Keppel and general Hodgson; as did the important fortrefs of Pondicherry, in the East Indies, to colonel Coote and admiral Stevens. The operations against the French West Indies, still continued under general Monckton, lord Rollo, and sir James Douglas; and in 1762, the island of Martinico, hitherto deemed impregnable, with the islands of Grenada, Grenadillas, St. Vincent, and others of less note, were subdued by the British arms with inconceivable rapidity.

In the mean time, Mr. Pitt, who had conducted the war against France with such eminent ability, and who had received the best information of the hostile intentions, and private intrigues of the court of Spain, proposed in council an immediate declaration of war against that kingdom. Giving full scope to his pa-

triotism, he warmly exclaimed, "This is the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon! and if the glorious opportunity is let slip, we shall in vain look for another. Their united power, if suffered to gather strength, will baffle our most vigorous efforts, and possibly plunge us into the gulph of ruin. We must not allow them a moment to breath. Self-preservation bids us crush them, before they can combine or recollect themselves." This popular minister, however, was overruled in the council, all the members of which declared themselves of a contrary opinion, excepting his brother-in law, earl Temple.

Mr. Pitt now found the decline of his influence; and it was supposed that the earl of Bute, who had a considerable share in directing the education of the king, had acquired an ascendancy in the royal favour. He, therefore, haughtily said, "That as he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct, he would no longer remain [in a situation, which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide."

Mr. Pitt, conformable to his declared resolution, carried the seals of his office to the king; not without hopes, as is believed, that he would be desired to retain them. But his majesty received the seals from his minister with ease and dignity, with a magnanimity equal to his own. He expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant, at a time when abilities for public business were so much required; but he did not solicit him to resume his office. Little prepared for a behavior so firm, yet full of condescension, the haughty secretary is said to have burst into tears. This was the time for conciliation between the youthful sovereign and his greatest subject, if the highest ability to serve the state can entitle a subject to that distinction. But a subject, though a good one, may be too great. The king chose, and perhaps wisely, to abide by the opinion of the majority of his

his council. He accepted Mr. Pitt's resignation, settled upon him a pension of three thousand pounds a-year for three lives, and conferred the title of baroness on his lady, he himself declining the honour of nobility, but willing that it should descend to his offspring.

These advantages and honours had unquestionably been well deserved by his public services; but his acceptance of them greatly lessened his popularity, and many arts were employed to produce this effect. A very considerable degree of discontent, notwithstanding, prevailed in the nation, on account of his removal from power; and it was certainly extremely natural, that the people should behold, with the utmost regret, the removal of a minister from the direction of public affairs, of whose ability and integrity they had the highest opinion, and in the midst of a war, which he had conducted with so much honour to himself and to his country, and in a manner that had excited the astonishment of Europe.

CH A P. XCVII.

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

THE secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind over-awed majesty itself. No state chicanery, no narrow system of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but over-bearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England, his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party; without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the house

of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England. The sight of his mind was infinite; and his schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate, the suggestions of an understanding animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent were unknown to him. No domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness reached him; but aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unsullied by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system, to counsel and to decide.

A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the treasury trembled at the name of Pitt through all her classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an æra in the senate, peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing gigantic sentiments and instinctive wisdom; not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully; it resembled sometimes the thunder, and sometimes the music of the spheres. He did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtilty of argumentation; nor was he for ever on the rack of exertion; but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point by the flashings of the mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to

rule

rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe.

C H A P. XCVIII.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

MR. PITT owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom, singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter in others too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it.

Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, (and if I may use the expression) to do the honours of his parts; but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbade him the idle dissipations of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen, he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus, by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was, perhaps, the principal cause of its splendor.

His private life was stained by no vices, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated.

elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned by great success, make what the world calls "a great man." He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing; qualities which too often accompany, but always clog great ones.

He had manners and address; but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life; and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry, but he seldom indulged, and seldom avowed it.

He came young into parliament, and upon that great theatre soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him *. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs.

In that assembly, where the public good is so much talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so nobly, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather only unsuspected, champion.

The weight of his popularity, and his universally-acknowledged abilities, obtruded him upon king George II, to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made secretary of state. In this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot or the minister to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that while he served the king more effectually, in his most unwarrantable electoral views, than any former minister, however unwilling,

* Hume Campbell, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield.

had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public; whom he assured and convinced, that the protection and defence of Hanover, with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America. So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make the proper use of them; but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country, notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension for three lives on his voluntary resignation of the seals in the first year of the present king, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it. However, it must be acknowledged that he had those qualities which none but a great man can have, with a mixture of those failings which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

C H A P. XCIX.

MR. BURKE'S CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

LORD CHATHAM is a great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe,

— "Clarum et venerabile nomen

"Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod præderat urbi."

The venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind, and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament.

For a wise man, he seemed to me to be governed too much by general maxims. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and, surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which I am afraid are for ever incurable. He made an administration so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic, such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name, &c." It so happened, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives; until they found themselves, they knew not how pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle bed.

In consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could

could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, in various departments of ministry, with a confidence in him which was justified, even in its extravagance, by his superior abilities; had never, in any instance, presumed on any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port. And as those who joined with them, in manning the vessel, were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the most vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends, and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, even before the splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, (Charles Townshend) and for his hour became lord of the ascendant, who was officially the reproducer of the fatal scheme, the unfortunate act to tax America for a revenue.

C H A P. C.

PETER THE THIRD, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, IS DEPOSED, IMPRISONED, AND MURDERED. A. D. 1762.

PETER III, grand prince of Russia, and duke of Holstein, mounted the throne, possessed of an enthusiastic admiration of his Prussian majesty's virtues, to whom he gave peace, and whose principles and practices he seems to have adopted, as the directories of his future reign. He might have surmounted the effects even of those peculiarities, unpopular as they then were in Russia; but in his rage for innovation, he made more regulations in a few weeks, than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. Being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked the prejudices of his people, even while he consulted their interests.

He disgusted both the soldiery and clergy, the two chief supports of absolute sway; the former, by the manifest preference which he gave to his Holstein guards, and to all officers of that country; the latter, by his contempt of the Greek church, and certain innovations in regard to images, which made them apprehend the introduction of Lutheranism, in which he had been bred; but more especially by an attempt to moderate the revenues of ecclesiastics, and his order that they should no longer be "distinguished by beards."

These were great causes of discontent. But Peter's most dangerous misfortune arose from a domestic feud, from the bosom of his own family. He had long slighted his consort, Catharine, of the house of Anhalt Zerbst, a woman of a masculine disposition and strong understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited, and now
openly

openly lived with the countess of Woronzoff, neice to the chancellor of that name. To this lady he seemed to be devoted with so strong a passion, that it was generally believed he had some thoughts of throwing the empress into a convent, and raising the countess to the partnership of his throne.

The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of this domestic dissention, assembled and formally deposed the czar in his absence, and invested Catharine with the imperial ensigns. She marched at their head in quest of her husband, who was solacing himself with his mistress at one of his houses of pleasure, and expressed the utmost surprize at being told the sceptre was departed from him. When convinced of the fatal truth, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, where he expired in a few days, of what is called an hæmorrhoidal cholic, to which he was said to have been subject. After what had passed, his death occasioned no speculation. It was, indeed, an event universally expected. Princes dethroned by their subjects are seldom allowed to languish long in the gloom of a dungeon. The jealousy of the successor, or the fears of some principal conspirator, commonly cut short their moments of trouble.

Catharine II, since so much celebrated for her liberal policy, began her reign with flattering prejudices. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her service and confidence. She sent away the Holstein guards, and chose Russians in their stead. She revived their ancient uniform, which had been abolished by Peter III, and frequently condescended to appear in it. She restored to the clergy their revenues; and what was of no less importance, the privilege of wearing beards! She conferred all the great offices of state on native-Russians, and threw herself entirely on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation.

CHAP.

C H A P. CI.

THE HISTOTY OF THE LATE UNFORTUNATE
MATILDA, QUEEN OF DENMARK.

CHRISTIAN VII, the present king of Denmark, married his Britannic majesty's youngest sifter, the princess Carolina Matilda. But this alliance, though it wore at first a very promising appearance, yet had in the event a very unfortunate termination. This is partly attributed to the intrigues of the queen-dowager mother-in-law to the present king, who has a son named Frederic, and whom she is represented as desirous of raising to the throne. She possesses a great degree of dissimulation and low cunning; and when the princess Carolina-Matilda came to Copenhagen, she received her with all the appearance of friendship and affection, acquainting her with all the king's faults, and at the same time telling her, that she would take every opportunity, as a mother, to assist her in reclaiming him. By this conduct she became the depositary of all the young queen's secrets, whilst at the same time she placed people about the king, to keep him constantly engaged in all kinds of riot and dissipation, to which she knew he was naturally too much inclined; and at length it was so ordered, that a mistress was thrown in the king's way, whom he was persuaded to keep in his palace.

When the king was upon his travels, the queen-dowager used frequently to visit the young queen Matilda; and, under the mask of friendship and affection told her often of the irregularities and excesses, which the king had fallen into, in Holland, England,
and

and France, and often persuaded her not to live with him. But as soon as the king returned, the queen reproaching him with his conduct, though in a gentle manner, his mother-in-law immediately took his part, and endeavoured to persuade the king to give no ear to her councils, as it was presuming in a queen of Denmark to direct the king.

Queen Matilda now began to discover the designs of the queen dowager, and afterwards lived upon very good terms with the king, who for a time was much reclaimed. The young queen, also, now assumed to herself the part which the queen-dowager had been complimented with, in the management of public affairs. This stung the old queen to the quick; and her thoughts were now entirely occupied with schemes of revenge. But her views of this kind at first appeared the more difficult to carry into execution, because the king had displaced several of her friends who were about the court, who had been increasing the national debt, in the time of the most profound peace, and who were rioting in the spoils of the public. However she at length found means to gratify her revenge in a very ample manner.

About the end of the year 1770, it was observed that Brandt and Struensee were particularly regarded by the king; the former as a favourite, and the latter as a minister, and that they paid great court to queen Matilda, and were supported by her. This opened a new scene of intrigue at Copenhagen. All the discarded placemen paid their court to the queen-dowager, and she became the head and patroness of the party. Old count Moltke, an artful, displaced statesman, and others, who were well versed in intrigues of this nature, perceiving that they had unexperienced young persons to contend with, who, though they might mean well, had not sufficient

knowledge and capacity to conduct the public affairs, very soon predicted their ruin.

Struensee and Brandt wanted to make a reform in the administration of public affairs at once, which should have been the work of time; and thereby made a great number of enemies, among those whose interest it was, that things should continue upon the same footing that they had been for some time before.

After this, queen Matilda was delivered of a daughter, and as soon as the queen-dowager saw her, she immediately turned her back, and with a malicious smile, declared that the child had all the features of Struensee; which was corroborated by the queen's having been often seen to speak with this minister in public.

A great variety of false reports were now propagated by the queen-dowager and her friends against the reigning queen; and another report was also industriously spread, that the governing party had formed a design to supersede the king, as being incapable of governing; that the queen was to be declared regent during the minority of her son; and that Struensee was to be her prime minister. Whatever Struensee did to reform the abuses of the late ministry, was represented to the people as so many attacks upon, and attempts to destroy, the government of the kingdom. By such means the people began to be greatly incensed against this minister; and as he also wanted to make a reform in the military, he gave great offence to the troops, at the head of which were some of the creatures of the queen-dowager, who took every opportunity to make their inferior officers believe, that it was the design of Struensee to change the whole system of government. It must, indeed, been admitted, that this minister seems, in many respects, to have acted very unprecedentedly, and to have

have been too much under the guidance of his passions. His principles also appear to have been of the libertine kind.

Many councils were held between the queen-dowager and her friends, upon the proper measures to be adopted for effectuating their designs; and it was at length resolved to surprize the king in the middle of the night, and force him immediately to sign an order which was to be prepared in readiness, for committing the persons before mentioned to separate prisons; to accuse them of high treason in general, and in particular of a design to poison, or dethrone the king; and if that could not be properly supported by torture or otherwise, to procure witnesses to confirm the report of a criminal commerce between the queen and Struensee.

This was an undertaking of so hazardous a nature that the wary count Moltke and most of the queen-dowager's friends, who had any thing to lose, drew back, endeavouring to animate others, but excusing themselves from taking any open and active part in this affair. However, the queen dowager, at last procured a sufficient number of active instruments, for the execution of her designs.

On the sixteenth of January, 1772, a masked ball was given at the court of Denmark. The king had danced at this ball, and afterwards played at quadrille with general Gahler, his lady, and counsellor Struensee, brother to the count. The queen, after dancing as usual, one country dance with the king, gave her hand to count Struensee during the remainder of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and count Brandt. About four the same morning, prince Frederic, who had also been at the ball, got up and dressed himself, and went with the queen-dowager to the king's bed-chamber, accompanied by general Eichstedt, and count Rantzau.

Kantzau. They ordered his majesty's valet de chambre to awake him, and in the midst of the surprize and alarm that this unexpected intrusion excited, they informed him, that queen Matilda and the two Struensee were, at that instant, busy in drawing up an act of renunciation of the crown, which they would immediately after compel him to sign; and that the only means he could use to prevent so imminent a danger, was to sign those orders without loss of time, which they had brought with them, for arresting the queen and her accomplices. It is said, that the king was not easily prevailed upon to sign these orders; but he at length complied, though with reluctance and hesitation.

Count Rantzau, and three officers, were dispatched at that untimely hour to the queen's apartments, and immediately arrested her. She was put into one of the king's coaches, in which she was conveyed to the castle of Cronenburg, together with the infant princess, attended by lady Mostyn, and escorted by a party of dragoons. In the mean time, Struensee and Brandt were also seized in their beds, and imprisoned in the citadel. Struensee's brother, some of his adherents, and most of the members of the late administration, were seized the same night, to the number of about eighteen, and thrown into confinement.

The government, after this, seemed to be lodged in the queen-dowager and her son, supported and assisted by those who had the principal share in the revolution; while the king appeared to be little more than a pageant, whose person and name it was necessary occasionally to make use of.

All the officers, who had a hand in the revolution, were immediately promoted, and an almost total change took place, in all the departments of administration. A new council was appointed, in which prince Frederic presided, and a commission of eight members,

members, to examine the papers of the prisoners, and to commence a process against them.

The son of queen Matilda, the prince royal, who was entered into the fifth year of his age, was put under the care of a lady of quality, who was appointed governess, under the superintendancy of the queen-dowager.

Struensee and Brandt were put in irons, and very rigorously treated in prison. They both underwent long and frequent examinations, and at length received sentence of death. They were beheaded on the twenty-eighth of April, 1772, having their right hand previously cut off; but many of their friends and adherents were afterwards set at liberty.

Struensee at first, had absolutely denied having any criminal intercourse with the queen. This, however, he afterwards confessed; though he is said to have been induced to it, only by the fear of torture. No measures were adopted by the court of Great Britain to clear up the queen's character in this respect. But in May, his Britannic majesty sent a small squadron of ships to convoy that princess to Germany, and appointed the city of Zell, in his electoral dominions, for the place of her future residence. She died there of a malignant fever, on the tenth of May, 1775, aged 23 years and 10 months.

C H A P. CII.

OF THE CAUSE AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE
AMERICAN WAR.

DURING the administration of Mr. Grenville, in 1765, bills passed for laying a stamp duty on the British colonies in America, which first laid the foundation of those quarrels between the colonies and the mother country, which ended in a total separation. This measure was no sooner known in America, than insurrections commenced there and great murmurings at home. In consequence of which the ministry retired, and the act was repealed.

After the repeal of the stamp act, which was received with great joy in America, all things became quiet there. New duties, however, were soon after laid on paper, glass, tea, and other articles. But as a general combination seemed to be forming among the Americans, not to take any of those commodities from the mother country, all these acts were also repealed, except the duties on tea.

In order to induce the East-India company to become instrumental in enforcing the tea-duty in America, an act was passed, by which they were enabled to export their teas, duty free, to all places whatsoever. Several ships were accordingly freighted with teas for the different colonies by the company, which also appointed agents there, for the disposal of that commodity. This was considered by the Americans as a scheme calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby pave the way to an unlimited taxation. For it was easily comprehended, that if the tea was once landed, and

in the custody of the consignees, no associations, nor other measures, would be sufficient to prevent its sale and consumption. And it was not to be supposed, they said, that when taxation was established in one instance, it would restrain itself in others.

These ideas being generally prevalent in America, it was resolved by the colonists to prevent the landing of the tea-cargoes amongst them, at whatever hazard. Accordingly, three ships laden with tea having arrived in the port of Boston, in December, 1773, a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded these ships, and in a few hours discharged their whole cargoes of tea into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. Some smaller quantities of tea met afterwards with a similar fate at Boston, and a few other places; but in general, the commissioners for the sale of that commodity were obliged to relinquish their employments, and the masters of the tea-vessels, from an apprehension of danger, returned again to England with their cargoes. At New York, indeed, the tea was landed under the cannon of a man of war. But the persons in the service of government there were obliged to consent to its being locked up from use.

These proceedings in America excited so much indignation in the government of England, that on the thirty-first of March, 1774, an act was passed for removing the custom-house officers from the town of Boston, and shutting up the port. Another Act was soon after passed, for altering the constitution of Massachusetts Bay and Quebec, so that the magistrates might be appointed by the king of England.

In this situation of affairs, the Americans entered into agreement not to trade with Great Britain, till these acts were repealed. At the same time, the delegates appointed from the English colonies, avowed their loyalty to

to his majesty, but supplicated him to order a change of measures. This petition of the Congress was rejected, as well as an application of their agents to be heard at the bar of the house of commons.

The earl of Chatham, who had been long in an infirm state of health, appeared in the house of lords, and expressed in the strongest terms, his disapprobation of the whole system of American measures. He also made a motion for immediately recalling the troops from Boston. He represented this as a measure which should be immediately adopted; urging, that an hour then lost, in allaying the ferment in America, might produce years of calamity. He alledged, that the present situation of the troops rendered them and the Americans continually liable to events, which would cut off the possibility of a reconciliation; but that this conciliatory measure would be well timed; and as a mark of affection and good-will on our side, would remove all jealousy and apprehension on the other, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both. His lordship's motion was rejected by a large majority, as was also a bill which he brought in soon after for settling the American troubles.

The Americans finding themselves thus treated, began to train their militia with great industry. They erected powder-mills in Philadelphia and Virginia, and began to prepare arms in all the provinces; nor were these preparations fruitless, as will evidently appear from what followed.

On the nineteenth of April, 1775, general Gage detached a party to seize some military stores at Concord, in New England. Several skirmishes ensued, many were killed on both sides, and the troops would probably have been cut off, if a fresh body had not arrived to their relief. Arms were now taken up in every quarter, and they assumed the title of the *United Colonies of America*. Their first resolutions were for raising an army, for establishing an extensive paper currency, and for stopping all exportations to those places which still retained their

their obedience. About 240 provincials next took the garrison of Ticonderago and Crown Point, without any loss of men; and here they found plenty of military stores. Great Britain increased her army, and sent over the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton.

These inimical proceedings did not terrify the congress, who encouraged the people of Massachusetts Bay to resume their chartered rights, ordered the blockade of Boston to be continued, and, that they might secure Charles-town, in one night they raised very considerable works on Bunker's hill. As soon as they were discovered in the morning, a heavy fire ensued from the ships, from the floating batteries, and from Cope's-hill in Boston. The Americans bore this severe fire with great firmness, and appeared to go on with their business, as if no enemy had been near, nor any danger in the service. About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked, under the command of Major-general Howe, and Brigadier general Pigot, to drive the provincials from their works. This detachment together with a reinforcement which it afterwards received, amounted in the whole to more than two thousand men. The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to put the Americans into confusion. The latter, however, threw some men into the houses of Charles-town, which covered their right flank; by which means general Pigot, who commanded the left wing of the king's troops, was at once engaged with the lines and with those in the houses. He attacked the Americans with great ardour, who, on their part, sustained a severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with remarkable firmness and resolution. They did not return a shot until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which great numbers of the British troops fell, and many of

their officers. They were thereupon thrown into disorder; but being rallied, and again brought to the charge, they attacked the work of the Americans with fixed bayonets, and irresistible fury, and forced them in every quarter. Many of the provincials were destitute of bayonets, and their ammunition is said to have been expended; however, a number of them fought desperately within the works, from which they were not driven without great difficulty; and they at length retreated slowly over Charles-town neck. Charles-town itself, during the action, was set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. This was the first settlement made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston; that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former. Charles-town was a large, handsome, and well-built town, both in respect to its public and private edifices. It contained about four hundred houses, and had a great trade. The loss of the king's troops, in the action at Bunker's-hill, amounted to 226 killed, and more than eight hundred wounded, including many officers.

C H A P. CIII.

OF THE RIOTS IN LONDON, A. D. 1780.

THE middle of this year was distinguished by one of the most disgraceful exhibitions of religious bigotry that had ever appeared in this country; especially if it be considered, as happening in an age, in which the principles of toleration were well understood, and very prevalent. An act of parliament had been lately passed, "for relieving his majesty's subjects, professing the Romish religion, from

from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed upon them in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of king William III." This act was generally approved of by men of sense, and of liberal sentiments, by whom the laws against Papists were justly deemed too severe. The act at first seemed to give little offence to persons of any class in England; but in Scotland it excited much indignation, though it did not extend to that kingdom. Resolutions were formed to oppose any law for granting indulgences to Papists in Scotland; and a Romish chapel was burnt, and the houses of several people demolished in the city of Edinburgh.

The contagion of bigotry at length reached England. A number of persons assembled themselves together, with a view of promoting a petition to parliament, for a repeal of the late act in favour of the Papists, and they assumed the title of the Protestant Association. They were chiefly Methodists and bigoted Calvinists, in the lower ranks of life; many of them well-intentioned persons, and having a just dislike to Popery, but not sufficiently enlightened to consider that a spirit of persecution was one of the worst characteristics of that system of superstition, and that this was, at least, as odious in Protestants as in Papists.

They continued to hold frequent meetings. Lord George Gordon became their president, and they increased in numbers. At a time when the nation was surrounded with real dangers, the heads of these weak men were filled with nothing but the fear of Popery; and they even seemed to fancy that they were contending for religious liberty, when they were labouring to excite the legislature to prevent some of their fellow-subjects from worshipping God according the dictates of their consciences.

The Protestant Association having at length agreed to a petition, which was said to have been subscribed by more than one hundred thousand persons, the utmost industry

having been used to procure names to it; it was resolved, in order to give the more weight to their petition, that it should be attended by great numbers of the petitioners in person; and a public advertisement was issued for that purpose, signed by lord George Gordon. Accordingly, at least fifty thousand persons are supposed to have assembled with this view, on Friday, the second of June, in St. George's fields, from whence they proceeded with blue cockades in their hats, with much order and regularity, to the House of Commons, where their petition was presented by their president. In the course of the day, several members of both houses of parliament were grossly insulted and ill-treated by the populace; and the mob assembled the same evening, by which the Sardinian chapel in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, and another Romish chapel in Warwick-street, Golden square, were entirely demolished. A party of the guards was then sent for, to put a stop to the further progress of these violences, and thirteen of the rioters were taken, five of whom were afterwards committed to Newgate, escorted by the military. On the Sunday following, another mob assembled, and destroyed a Popish chapel in Ropemaker's-alley, Moor-fields. On the Monday, they demolished a school-house, and three dwelling houses, in the same place, belonging to the Romish priests, with a valuable library of books. They also destroyed all the household furniture of Sir George Saville, one of the most respectable men in the kingdom, because he had brought in the bill in favour of the Papists.

On Tuesday great numbers again assembled about the parliament house, and behaved so tumultuously, that both houses thought proper to adjourn. In the evening, a most daring and violent attempt was made to force open the gates of Newgate, in order to release the rioters who were confined there; and the keeper having refused to deliver them, his house was set on fire, the prison was soon in flames, and great part of it consumed, though a new stone

stone edifice of uncommon strength; and more than three hundred prisoners made their escape, many of whom joined the mob.

Before this a committee of the Protestant Association had circulated hand bills requesting all true Protestants to shew their attachment to their best interest, by a legal and peaceable deportment. But this produced little effect. Violence, tumult, and devastation still continued. The Protestant Association, as they thought proper to style themselves, had been chiefly actuated by ignorance and bigotry. But their new confederates were animated by the love of mischief, and the hope of plunder. Two other prisons, the houses of lord Mansfield and Sir John Fielding, and several private houses, were destroyed the same evening. The following day, the King's-Bench prison, the new Bridewell in St. George's Fields, some Popish chapels, several private houses of Papists, and other buildings, were destroyed by the rioters. Some were pulled down, and others set on fire; and every part of the metropolis exhibited violence and disorder, tumults and conflagrations.

During these extraordinary scenes, there was a shameful inactivity in the lord mayor of London, and in most of the other magistrates of the metropolis, and its neighbourhood; and even the ministry appeared to be panic-struck, and to be only attentive to the preservation of their own houses, and of the royal palace. Some of the common people engaged in these riots, with the more readiness, on account of the unpopularity of the ministry; nor could so much violence and disorder have happened under any administration, which had been generally respected. Even some persons in better circumstances, who totally disapproved of the bigotry of the Protestant Association, were yet induced at first to oppose the rioters with less vigour, from entertaining ideas, that these tumults might possibly inspire terror into the administration, and occasion a change of measures. The event, however, was directly the reverse. The fears of the

ministry were only temporary; and the riots, and their consequences, greatly contributed, in fact, to strengthen the hands of government.

The magistrates, at the beginning of the riots, declined giving any order to the military to fire upon the insurgents; but at length, as all property began to be insecure, men of all classes began to see the necessity of a vigorous opposition to the rioters. Large bodies of troops were brought to the metropolis; and an order was issued, by the authority of the king in council, "for the military to act, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people." The troops exerted themselves with diligence, in the suppression of these alarming tumults; great numbers of the rioters were killed; many were apprehended, who were afterwards tried and executed for felony; and the metropolis was at length restored to order and tranquillity.

It is pretended, that no member of the Protestant association was executed, or tried, for any share in these riots. What truth there may be in that assertion, we cannot determine. The fact can only be ascertained, by comparing the names of the persons tried or convicted, with the numerous names on the petition, to which few persons have had access; and there can be no doubt, but that many who were engaged in the riots, were neither convicted nor tried.

At all events, it was manifestly the bigotry of the protestant association, to which these riots owed their origin. The manner in which these tumults were suppressed, by the operations of the military, without any authority from the civil magistrate, however necessary from the peculiar circumstances of the case, was thought to be a very dangerous precedent; and it was the opinion of many, that an act of indemnity ought to have been passed, not only
with

with regard to inferior persons, who had acted in the suppression of these riots, but also with respect to the ministry themselves, for the part they had taken in this transaction, in order to prevent its being established as a precedent.

C H A P. CIV.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA IS ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.
A.D. 1782.

AFTER the surrender of earl Cornwallis, our affairs in America seemed desperate, and every one seemed desirous of bringing the war to a conclusion, except those who were generally thought to be the cause of it. Sir James Lowther, now lord Lonsdale, therefore moved in the house of commons, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans by force, would be injurious to the true interest of Great Britain. After a long and vigorous debate, the motion was rejected. The mode of exchanging prisoners was next canvassed; and Mr. Lawrence was ordered to be released from the Tower.

A motion was next made, for addressing his majesty to put a stop to the American war; and the motion was lost but by one vote only. A second motion was then made, and agreed to. Addresses were presented to the king, a complete change in administration followed, the negociation for a general peace commenced, and the independency of America was allowed.

In 1783, the provisional articles between England and

and America was made public. By these it appeared, that his Britannic majesty acknowledged the independence of the United States of New-Hampshire, Massachusset's-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. He also relinquished all claims to the government of them, and consented to treat with them as free and independent states. Their bounderies were also settled, and they were allowed the liberty of fishing, and drying fish, as usual. It was agreed, that the creditors, on both sides, should meet with no impediment in the prosecution of their claims. The restoration of confiscated property was also recommended, and all prisoners were to be set at liberty. The English troops were to be immediately withdrawn from America, and a firm and perpetual peace was concluded between the contracting parties. In these articles, no provision was made for the American loyalists. The line of boundary was blamed as inaccurate, and the liberty of fishing was condemned as an instance of extravagant liberality.

The definitive treaty was next signed. In our treaty with the French, after settling the fisheries, the islands of St. Pierre, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Goree, were surrendered to France, with the river Senegal, and its dependencies, and the forts of St. Louis and others. The islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat, were left to the English; and the islands which the English had taken from the French in the East Indies were restored. The prisoners also, on both sides were to be surrendered without ransom.

With the Dutch, our negotiations were not so easily settled. However, after much deliberation,
and

and several memorials, it was stipulated by treaty, that the king of Great Britain should restore Trincomale, and all the possessions that had been taken during the war, to the Dutch; that the States General should guarantee Negapatam, with its dependencies, to his Britannic majesty; and that mutual conquests were to be given up, without compensation.

Our treaty with the Spaniards determined, that his Catholic majesty should maintain Minorca and West-Florida, and have East-Florida added to him; and that Spain should surrender the island of Providence and the Bahamas to the English. All other conquests of territories were mutually to be restored, without compensation.

CHAP. CV.

RECENT MEMORABLE EVENTS.

AT home, the preliminary articles of peace were canvassed with great freedom in both houses of parliament; but to enter into the various subjects of dispute, or the merits of the disputants, would far exceed the narrow limits of this Work: we must therefore content ourselves with only general remarks.

Some important motions were carried against the ministry in the house of commons; and, after various and ineffectual struggles, the earl of Shelburne and his party resigned, and the duke of Portland was placed at the head of the new administration, while Mr. Fox took the lead in the lower house. Mr. Pitt, the son of the great earl of Chatham, made a motion

for a parliamentary reform, which did not succeed. The next important event was a decision in the house of lords, by which bonds of resignation respecting church-livings, were declared illegal by a decision of that house. This was followed by another unsuccessful attempt to bring on a reform. Parliament consented to a bill for the relief of the American loyalists; for ordering the establishment of the prince of Wales; and for granting pensions to lord Rodney and general Elliott, for their important services. Soon after, the parliament was prorogued; and, on the 6th of October, peace was proclaimed.

Soon after the meeting of parliament, in November, Mr. Fox brought forward his bill for the regulation of India. It was carried through the lower house by a great majority, but was rejected in the upper house. On the following night, Dec. 18, the ministry were suddenly dismissed, and Mr. Pitt was announced first lord of the treasury. This change was not expected to be permanent; and so strong was Mr. Fox's party in the house of commons, that noblemen were at first afraid of accepting places of responsibility. These apprehensions were soon conquered; but still the minister found himself in a minority. Several addresses were presented by the opposition to his majesty, and all public business seemed to cease. The ministry, however, were determined, and refused to resign. Attempts were made to form a coalition; but they proved unsuccessful; and the parliament was dissolved on the 24th of March. The next parliament met on the 18th of May, 1784, when it was soon discovered, that there was a considerable majority on the side of the minister. When the election for Westminster, in which Mr. Fox complained of the illegal proceedings of the high-bailiff, was discussed, the minister carried almost every motion; notwithstanding which, Mr. Fox at last triumphed, and

and sat as member for the city of Westminster. The minister brought forward his taxes, and his India bill, all which passed, some of them without even a division. Laws were also made for the prevention of smuggling, the support of the public revenue, and for the restoration of the Scotch titles which had been forfeited in the rebellion. At length, after a long and busy session, the parliament was prorogued on the 10th of August.

The year 1785, was also a period of political contention. Mr. Pitt presented to the house a string of propositions, tending to settle the commerce of England and Ireland on a mutual and equitable footing. They met with great opposition in both houses; and, though they with difficulty passed, they were so encreased and mutilated, as to retain hardly any thing of their original form. On being sent over to Ireland, they met with great opposition in that kingdom, and were soon thrown out with contempt, both countries considering them as destructive to their own interests.

In 1787, the French party fomented great disturbances in Holland; insinuating, that the Stadtholder sacrificed the interest of the republic to English politics; but the king of Prussia took so active a part in favour of the Stadtholder, as totally to overturn the views of the French, who were in too distressed a situation to give the malcontents any assistance.

In 1788, the king of England was seized with a violent disorder, and continued ill a long time with very little hopes of recovery.

In December, the parliament met, but could not proceed to business, as they consisted only of two branches of the legislature, the third, the king, being incapable of acting. The prince of Wales was proposed as regent during the indisposition of the king;

but the power with which he was to be invested, occasioned very violent debates in both houses.

This contest continued till March 10, 1789, when his majesty sent a message to the House, to acquaint them with his sudden recovery, and his ability to attend to the public business of the nation.

In the month of July, 1789, one of the most unexpected revolutions took place in France, that ever happened in the political hemisphere of Europe, in which the interest and commerce of England are materially concerned. On that day, the French king was divested of all his absolute authority, and reduced to one of the most limited monarchs in Europe. The Bastile, that den of slavery and cruelty, was so effectually demolished by the populace, as literally not to leave one stone upon another. The national assembly, who were chosen by the people, took from the king the power of making war and peace, and abolished all titles of peerages, it being their opinion, that no distinctions should be known, but such as arise from virtue, genius, and merit.

On the 14th of July, 1790, a solemn festival was held at Paris, when the French monarch made a formal surrender of the power, which is dangerous in the hands of any single man. From this day, he was no longer to be considered as the absolute tyrant, but as the father and servant of his people. On the above day, in the Field of Mars, he took a solemn oath to abide by the new constitution, as prescribed by a decree of the national assembly. However, notwithstanding the solemn oath the French monarch had taken, he soon afterwards endeavoured to make his escape to the German dominions, but he was stopped on the borders of Flanders, brought back to Paris, and closely guarded in one of the royal palaces. In the mean time, the national assembly drew up a new code of laws, which may be called the *Magna Charta*

Charta of France, and presented them to the king to sign, which he did on September 14, 1791, and apparently for a time allayed the tumults in that kingdom.

In the year 1787, Warren Hastings, esq. late governor of the English settlements in the East Indies, was accused of high crimes and misdemeanors during his government in the East. The matter was brought forward in the house of commons, by Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, and some others, who impeached Mr. Hastings, and brought him to trial in the house of lords.

A little previous to this period, some English merchants sent a vessel to Nootka, or King George's Sound, in the north-west part of America, to trade with the natives in furs, when the Spaniards seized the vessel, and treated the captain and his crew with great severity. This produced complaints from the British court to that of Spain; but our remonstrance being little attended to, both nations proceeded to make very powerful naval preparations; but the matter was at last patched up by a kind of treaty, which, by the generality of people, was considered as very vague and indeterminate.

This naval armament was hardly dismissed, when a new object arose for collecting it together again. In the year 1788, the empress of Russia, who wished to obtain a port in the Black Sea, made very heavy claims on the Turks, and prevailed on the emperor of Germany to join in her views; but the war did no honour to the emperor, as the Turks cut some thousands of his troops to pieces, and many more perished by fatigue, want, and disease.

The empress of Russia, however, was more fortunate: she defeated the Turks in every battle, and took from them several places, particularly the forts Ockzacow and Ismael. These successes alarmed the
British

British court, who fitted out a large fleet, in order to prevent Russia's obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea; but the empress seemed to ridicule the preparations England was making, and insisted on maintaining the advantages she had acquired. Negotiations commenced; but the court of London, finding the empress was not to be intimidated, at last consented to disarm their navy, which had occasioned the nation an enormous expence, and leave the Russians in possession of their conquests. In or about the month of August, 1791, the preliminaries of peace were signed between the Russians and Turks, by which the empress obtained the free navigation of the Black Sea, with the full possession of Oczacow, and all its appendages, from the Neister to the Bog.

On the 29th of September, the marriage of the duke of York with the princess of Prussia, was solemnized; and they were re-married in England, on the 23d of November. About the same time, there was a dreadful insurrection of the negroes in St. Domingo.

The king of Sweden was assassinated on the 16th of March, 1792. During this year, lord Cornwallis made an advantageous peace with Tippoo Saib in the East-Indies, and received the two sons of the tyrant as hostages. The house of commons voted that the slave trade should be abolished on January 1, 1796. A great law question was also determined by the house of lords, (contrary to the opinion of the judges,) that in cases of libel, juries are judges of the *law* as well as of the *fact*.

The king of Poland was compelled by the Russians to restore the old constitution. About the same time, there were great riots at Birmingham.

On the 10th of August, there was a dreadful engagement at the Thuilleries, in Paris; the Swiss guards were vanquished and massacred, whilst the king and royal family were compelled to take refuge in the national assembly.

assembly. His majesty was deposed, and, with his family, imprisoned.

On the 22d of September, a dreadful insurrection happened at Paris. The prisons were forced open, and all the state prisoners, as well as confined priests, were massacred.

On the 21st of January 1793, the king of France was tried and executed. The French nation soon after declared war against England and Holland.

Marat, the head of the reigning faction in Paris, was assassinated by madame Cordé, on the 14th of July; and on the 17th, the crown revenue of Poland was sequestered by order of the Russian ambassador.

On the 28th of July, Valenciennes surrendered to the duke of York. Much about the same time Toulon surrendered to admiral Hood, but was afterwards evacuated. The French convention now decreed, a new division of the year.

A yellow fever, similar to a plague, broke out at Philadelphia, attended with most dreadful consequences.

The queen of France was tried on the 14th and executed on the 16th of October; and the duke of Orleans, *alias* M. Egalité, was executed on the 6th of November. The famous Countess de Barré, formerly mistress of Louis XV, was also executed at Paris.

During the year 1793 likewise, a number of persons met at Edinburgh, and held a convention, similar to that in France; several of these persons, men of respectable situations in life, were afterwards transported to Botany Bay.

On the 21st of April, 1794, a new theatre was opened on the site of the old Drury-lane play-house. About the same time, Jean Baptiste Victoire Guillotine was executed at Lyons, for corresponding with persons at Turin. It is an extraordinary thing that he should suffer death by an instrument of his own invention. He died with great reluctance, and declared, that when he produced his instrument to the world, it was from motives of humanity alone.

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On the 29th of July, Robespierre, and twenty-one of his party, received punishment amidst an innumerable crowd of people of both sexes, crying, *Long live the Republic! Down with the tyrant! Down with the Cromwell! Couthorn* was guillotined first, then the youngest Robespierre, and next Henriot. Robespierre himself was the last but one. The applauses and cries were doubled when he ascended the scaffold, where he stood two minutes, whilst the executioner took off the cloth which covered his wounded face—he did not say a word. Not one of the culprits shewed the least firmness or courage, but all died like cowards.

This year was likewise remarkable for a celebrated naval engagement, lord Howe having, on the 1st of June, obtained a complete victory over the French fleet.

On the 5th of February, 1795, his excellency the Turkish ambassador, made his long delayed public entry. The ambassador and his suite, after breakfasting with Sir G. Howard, at Chelsea Hospital, came to town in grand procession; the coach in which he rode was that used by the king in going to St. Paul's Cathedral; the state horses were six in number, very richly caparisoned; four of them were those sent as a present to the grand signior; the other two having died on their passage, were supplied by two from the king's stud. The ambassador wore a green robe, and turban nearly of the same colour, studded with jewels. Each of the carriages was drawn by six horses, decorated with ribbands, and attended by two or three servants in their court liveries. The ambassador addressed himself to the king in the language of his country, which was translated by Mr. Persiani, the dragoman; and the same ceremony was repeated to the queen; after which, the drawing-room commenced, and the business of the court proceeded as usual.—The presents brought over by the ambassador, were delivered at St. James's. They consisted of, to the king, a pair of gold pistols, the stocks and barrels solid gold; four Arabian horses, with gold bridles and saddles trimmed with gold;

gold; and a gold dagger, with belt ornamented with pearls and diamonds; to the queen and princesses, a chest of silks, embroidered with gold; a plume of feathers for the head-dress, supported with a band of solid gold, and the top of the feathers adorned with diamonds;—to the prince of Wales, duke of Portland, and lord Grenville, chests of silks.

On the 18th of September, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a fire broke out in the cupola of the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, which communicated to the roof, and in two hours consumed the whole inside of that very beautiful building. The fire was occasioned by the carelessness of some workman, who were repairing a part of the lead work about the cupola. The whole top was in a few minutes in flames, and in a short time falling in, nothing but the bare walls were left standing. The communion plate was saved; but every other article pertaining to that elegant edifice, the incomparable work of the far-famed architect, Inigo Jones, including the valuable and celebrated organ, the clock, &c. was devoured by the unconquerable fury of the destructive element.—The original cost of the building was 6,500*l*. Its repairs, about six years since, were charged at 10,000*l*. It will not appear trifling, however, to the inhabitants of the parish. They paid seven and a half per cent. for the repairs of this church. For this clumsy neglect they will have to pay at least twenty-five per cent. on their rents.

On the 18th of November, the outward-bound West-India fleet met with a dreadful disaster. This fleet, under the command of rear-admiral Christian, having on the whole near 16,000 troops on board, passed proudly down the channel, and exhibited, off Weymouth, a grand and beautiful spectacle; but, alas! the scene was soon changed to horror and dismay. "To give a true description of the scenes of horror, I have been witness to," says an officer, who was at Weymouth, "would be impossible. The West India fleet passed by Weymouth
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on Tuesday morning, with so light a breeze, that every sail was hoisted to it. In the afternoon, however, it began to blow very fresh; in the evening, quite a gale of wind, and all night, a most dreadful hurricane. The fleet could not make Torbay, though very near it, the wind blowing from the west; they, therefore, put about, in order to make for Weymouth. The convoy came safely to anchor in Portland Roads; but many of the transports and merchantmen, being heavily laden with troops and merchandize, could not stretch out far enough to get out of what is called the Western Bay, so as to clear the Isle of Portland; consequently, several of them were lost by striking on a bank of pebbles, extending from Portland nearly to Bridport. Here the dreadful scene begins.—Conceive a transport with nearly 200 troops on board, sinking within fifty yards of the shore; the cries of the unfortunate wretches on board distinctly heard on shore; the bodies floating on the waves; hundreds of people on the shore, but the means of affording assistance impracticable: of the two hundred, ten lives are saved, by the waves throwing the bodies upon the shore. But instead of the spectators (who are chiefly people from Portland, and who are always praying for wrecks on their coast) attempting to rescue the drowning wretches from the water, their whole attention was devoted to plunder, and I was myself witness to a scene the most unpardonable that ever humanity shuddered at. The body of an officer was driven ashore; a party of the Portland people ran to it for the purpose of plunder; a chest, however, coming ashore at the instant, the body was left to be washed back by the next wave, while the inhuman wretches were solely intent on preserving the chest, which they bore away in triumph. The officer, however, was saved by some of our people, and is now living.

“ Three vessels went to pieces in this way, within the space of an hour. Out of one, only two lives were saved; out of another, ten; and out of the third, three. Of those
saved,

saved, one was a lady, whose husband, an officer of the 26th regiment of light dragoons, was drowned. She had been ill, and was in bed when the ship struck, but was miraculously carried through a port-hole, and thrown on shore naked, and very much bruised. She was conveyed to a house senseless, and was for a long time delirious, at times waking to a recollection of her situation, only to add to her misery.

“Other vessels were lost farther up the country; and such was the fury of the waves, that several of the transports, heavily laden, were driven to the very summit of the beach, which is considerably higher than a common built house. Had the poor wretches continued on board, many more would have been saved; but such was their agitation and fright, that as soon as the vessel struck, they leaped overboard, and were exhausted before they could reach the shore. A soldier of the 63d, says, that previous to his quitting the transport, one of the officers of the regiment, who was lame and in bed, and conscious of the impossibility of his escaping death, met it with a most dignified constancy. He told the soldier, that from his strength there was a chance of his safety, and told him how to husband it best to his advantage; and then gave him his purse and watch, which he observed were no longer necessary to him.

“The shore is covered with dead bodies, and parts of the wreck are hourly appearing. Yesterday, we counted nine bodies thrown upon the beach by one tide, within the space of a quarter of a mile; the violence of the sea had torn every particle of cloathing off them, and from bruises, and lying so long in the water, they made the most shocking appearance. Part of the Gloucester militia, aided by the peasantry, are constantly employed in burying them. The number of sufferers almost exceeds belief; upwards of sixteen hundred bodies having, it is said, been thrown up along the beach. An officer of the Gloucester militia has assisted at the burial of 300.”

Towards the end of the year, the following account

was

was published respecting the departure of the daughter of Louis the XVI: "Charlotte Antoinette departed on the 20th of December, about four in the morning, accompanied by Madame de Saucy, daughter of Madame de Machau, wet-nurse of Louis the XVI, De Huè, his old valet de chambre, a captain of cavalry, one of the guardians of the Tower of the Temple, and one Caron, a waiting boy. The preparations for her departure were made by Cadet de Vaux, with all the secrecy which prudence demanded. The minister of the Interior took Charlotte Antoinette from the temple, and conducted her to his hotel, where a travelling carriage awaited her. All her wants were supplied in the most convenient manner, and likewise every thing that she wished."

As soon as she arrived at Basle, her exchange took place against the French commissioners delivered up by Dumourier.

On the 24th of January, 1796, the powder mills belonging to Mr. Hill, at Hounslow, owing to the wheels of the mill not being properly supplied with oil, took fire, and blew up with a dreadful explosion, which not only terrified the inhabitants of the place, but alarmed the cities of London and Westminster. The houses of the people several miles round the metropolis experienced the effects of this powerful concussion. Three men, who were at work in the manufactory, lost their lives, and the flames from the mill communicating to a boat in the mill river, in which were thirty barrels of gunpowder, set fire to the whole, which blew up with a terrible explosion—the man who had the care of the vessel being shattered to pieces, and the boat blown out of the water.

Not a vestige of the mills was left standing. The houses in Hounslow and Isleworth, and even Brentford, suffered considerably; the Crown Inn at Hounslow, and the King's Head at Brentford, had not a whole pane of glass in the windows. The loss at the powder mills is estimated at near 20,000*l*.

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On the 1st of February, after eleven o'clock, as the royal family were returning from Drury-lane theatre, when the carriages had reached the end of John-street, Pall Mall, a stone was flung with such force as to break one of the glass pannels in the coach, in which were their majesties and the lady in waiting; which, after striking the queen on the cheek, fell into lady Harrington's lap. A deposition on the above business was taken at the duke Portland's office, before the secretary of state and two of the magistrates from Bow-street; when some of the footmen attending on the royal family were examined. A reward of 1000*l.* is offered for the discovery of the offenders.

C H A P. CVI.

OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY.

RUSSIA, altogether rude and wretched, at the beginning of the present century, has made a more rapid advance from barbarism towards civilization, than any other country in Europe. It has experienced the most sudden and remarkable change in the history of human affairs. But that change has not been attended with such beneficial consequences as might have been expected to the body of the people, whom Peter I found and left in a state of slavery; and notwithstanding the more generous policy of Catharine II, who endeavours to revive a spirit of liberty among the lower classes, and extends encouragement and protection to her subjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts in Russia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners, or by such natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and

and with whom they die. They are still, in some measure, exotics in that great and flourishing empire; nor as Rayn-l insinuates, on account of the coldness of the climate, but because the mental soil is not yet sufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily extends itself; and the general progress of improvement is even now very considerable. Many of the nobility and gentry have acquired a relish for polite literature, and are not only exempt from barbarism, but distinguished by humanity towards their vassals, by polished manners and elegant conversation. The citizens have tasted the sweets of industry, and prosecute assiduously the mechanical arts. Many valuable cultures, both for commerce and consumption, have been successful introduced. And Russia, which has already produced generals and statesmen, will soon, it may be presumed, give birth to poets, painters, historians, and philosophers, who collect in their train the whole circle of the sciences, and by blending the pleasures of life with its conveniences, perfect the system of social happiness.

Of the progress of improvement in Poland, where, besides other adverse circumstances, the feudal aristocracy lately reigned in all its austerity, little can be said. Sweden and Denmark have declined in their consequence as kingdoms; but the sons of the north do not seem to be less happy, though they appear to have lost, with their political freedom, their ancient spirit of liberty and independency. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable subsistence; manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made considerable progress among them; and we may lay it down as a general maxim, which will admit of few exceptions, "that every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their industry, unless their condition is altogether servile."

Nor are these countries without their men of genius and science. Sweden in her Linnæus, who has arranged the animal and vegetable system, and discriminated the

genera and species of each, with all the accuracy of Aristotle, boasts the honour of having given birth to the most profound naturalist in modern times.

The state of Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone less change than any other country of equal extent, notwithstanding the frequent wars by which it has been shaken. These wars, by keeping up the ancient military habits, and the little intercourse the body of the people have with strangers, in time of peace, by reason of the inland situation, have preserved the general manners nearly the same as at the close of the last century; and the constitution of the empire has varied little since the peace of Westphalia. But agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts have in the course of the present century made great progress in many parts of Germany, especially in the dominions of his Prussian majesty; where the sciences and the polite arts also have flourished, under the protection of the late illustrious Frederick, who was at once the model of all that is elegant in letters or great in arms, the hero, statesman, historian, and philosopher. He collected round him learned and ingenious men of all countries, whose liberal researches have been directed to the most valuable ends. And the generous spirit of the prince, who at present fills the imperial throne, leave us no room to doubt but the court of Vienna, long distinguished by its magnificence, will soon be as polished and enlightened, as that of Berlin, of London, or Versailles. The German tongue is already adorned with works of imagination and sentiment, and the writings of Gessner, universally admired, have been translated into more modern languages.

The Swiss, as much distinguished by their love of liberty and of their country, and so long accustomed to sell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their soil, having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the necessary arts, instead of hiring themselves as soldiers to ambitious princes, pour forth their surplus

surplus of population upon more wealthy states, in useful artificers and industrious manufacturers, and preserve at home their plain and simple manners, with their ancient military character; while the Dutch, formerly no less zealous in the cause of liberty, who acquired its full establishment by greater and more glorious efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the most perfect picture of a flourishing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and base, dead to all sense of a public interest, and to every generous sentiment of the soul. The passion for gain has extinguished among them the spirit of patriotism, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the sense of shame. A total want of principle prevails. Riches, which the stupid possessors want taste to convert to any pleasurable use, are equivalent, in the opinion of a Dutchman, to all the talents of the mind, and all the virtues of the heart. Avarice is the only passion, and wealth the only merit in Holland. In such a country, a sordid and selfish happiness may be found, like that which the miser enjoys in contemplating his gold; but there the liberal arts cannot thrive, and elegant manners are not there to be expected.

Italy has acquired new lustre in the present century from the splendid courts of Turin and Naples, where arts and literature have been encouraged. If painting and architecture have continued to decline, music, and even poetry, has greatly flourished in this classical country. Metastasio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her serious musical drama. This drama, very different from the old Italian opera, and from the masque, by rejecting marvellous incidents and allegorical personages, is certainly the finest vehicle for music that ever was invented, as the airs are all sung by real persons, strongly agitated by the passions they express; whereas the chorus in the Greek tragedies, so much celebrated for its musical effect, was sung only by cool observers. But the Italian opera, in its most perfect

state, has been represented as unnatural, as well as fantastical; though, I think very unjustly. All our fine old ballads, which so exquisitely paint the tender passions, are supposed to be sung by persons under the immediate influence of those passions; and if the stage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it what is believed to have happened on the great theatre of the world. In order, however, to do as little violence as possible to probability, Metastasio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, those parts of his musical tragedies, that would otherwise evaporate in soliloquy, in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric measure is admirably adapted to the language of passion; and surely that mind must be very unmusical, which would prefer simple articulation to such enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the soul-dissolving airs of Metastasio, especially when sung by Millico or a Gabrielli.

The state of society in Spain has been greatly improved under the princes of the house of Bourbon. A taste for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, letters, and even a passion for arms and enterprize, have been revived among the Spaniards.

A similar taste is said to have extended itself to Portugal, since the expulsion of the Jesuits out of both those kingdoms. If this taste should ripen into a philosophic spirit, and break the fetters of superstition, we may perhaps behold a singular phenomenon in the history of nations; a great people, after the decline of empire and the corruption of manners, recovering their former consequence and character. Such a phenomenon would effectually overturn that hypothesis, chiefly founded on the fate of the Roman empire, "That states which have reached their utmost height, like the human body, must necessarily tend to decay, and either experience a total dissolution, or become so insignificant as to excite neither envy nor jealousy."

In France, society attained its highest polish before
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the close of the last century. But the misfortunes, which clouded the latter years of Lewis XIV, threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a mystical religion became fashionable at court. Madame de Maintenon herself was deeply penetrated with this religion, as was the celebrated abbé Fenelon, preceptor to the duke of Burgundy, afterwards archbishop of Cambray, and author of the *Adventures of Telemachus*, one of the finest works of human imagination. The fervour spread, especially among the softer sex; and Racine, in compliance with the prevailing taste, wrote tragedies on sacred subjects. The court, however, resumed its gaiety, under the regency of the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding the accumulated distress of the nation, occasioned by the Mississippi scheme and the disorders of the finances: and his libertine example, with that of his minister, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a gross sensuality, that scorned the veil of decency, and unprincipled levity, that treated every thing sacred and respectable with derision; and a spirit of dissipation, which, amid the utmost poverty, prevailed during the greatest part of the reign of Lewis XV. But this levity, which was chiefly confined to the court, did not hinder the body of the people from seriously attending to their civil and religious rights.

The progress of improvement, and the enlargement of the human mind, has been very considerable in France during the present century. If poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and architecture, should be allowed to have attained their height in that kingdom under the reign of Lewis XIV, they have not since greatly declined, and many arts, both useful and ornamental, have been invented or improved; particularly the art of engraving in copper, which has been carried to such a degree of perfection, as to rival painting itself; of making porcelain, plate-glass, fine paper, and paper-toys; and of counterfeiting in paste, so ingeniously as to deceive the nicest eye, at a little distance, the diamond, the pearl, and all
forts

forts of gems. The weaving of silk has been rendered more facile, while its culture has been extended; and a culture of still more importance to society, that of corn. Mons. Du Hamel, a member of the French Academy, by philosophically investigating the principles of husbandry, has made it a fashionable study, and introduced a taste for agriculture, which has already been attended with the most beneficial effects.

Nor is that worthy citizen the only man of learning in France, who has turned the eye of philosophy from mind to matter, and from the study of the heavens to the investigation of human affairs. This rational turn of thinking, indeed, particularly distinguishes French literature under the reign of Lewis XV.

At the head of the philosophers of REASON, of the instructors of their species in what concerns their essential interests, we must place the baron de Montesquieu. This penetrating genius, who may be termed the LEGISLATOR OF MAN, by discovering the latent springs of government, its moving principle under all its different forms, and *spirit of laws* in each, has given to political reasoning a degree of certainty, of which it was not thought capable. His countryman, Helvetius, also endowed with a true philosophical genius, has attempted to introduce the same degree of certainty into moral and metaphysical reasoning, though not with equal success. Helvetius, systematical to a fault, but eccentric even in system, employs in vain his fine talents to convince mankind, "that they are all born with equal capacity, or aptitude, to receive and retain ideas; and that all their virtues and talents, as well as the different degrees in which they possess them, are merely the effects of education, and other external circumstances." But his zealous endeavours to destroy the hydra prejudice, by contrasting the mutual contempt of nations, the hatred of religions, and the scorn of different classes in the same kingdom for each other, must tend to humble pride, and soften animosities. Nor can his generous efforts to rescue virtue

from the hands of jesuitical casuists, and connect it intimately with government, by fixing it on a solid basis of PUBLIC GOOD, fail to benefit society, or his ingenuity, in tracing the motives of human action, and in demonstrating the influence of civil causes upon the moral conduct of man, to be of use to poets, historians, and legislators.

While Montesquieu and Helvetius were thus contemplating the moral world, and investigating the powers and principles of man, as member of society, with the effect of government and laws upon the human characters, Buffon was employed in surveying the natural world; in examining the beauty and the virtues of vegetables, animal instinct, and animal life, in all their gradations, from the snail and the shell-fish up to man; the organization of the human frame, the perfections and imperfections of the senses, and the means by which they are perfected; all accompanied with such sublime reflections, as leave the mind equally astonished at the vigour of his genius and the extent of his knowledge.

"Much has been written in this age," says Voltaire, "but genius belonged to the last." Had no other man of genius appeared, he himself would have furnished proof of the falsity of this assertion, and in more departments than one. If the *Henriad* is inferior to the *Iliad*, it is at least the finest poem of the epic kind that France has hitherto produced. The *Zara*, the *Alzira*, the *Merope*, are equal in diction and pathos to any production of Racine; and the *Mahomet* is, beyond comparison, superior to the famous *China* of Corneille. Voltaire possessed a more comprehensive range of thought than either of those writers, and that he acquired chiefly by his application to history and philosophy. His philosophical pieces are generally superficial, and often of a pernicious tendency. His *Age of Lewis XIV*, his *History of Russia*, and of *Charles XII*, of Sweden, are models of elegant composition and just thinking. A love
of

of singularity has disfigured his General History with many impertinences, yet will the stamina remain an eternal monument of taste, genius, and sound judgment.

France produced many other men of genius, during the period under review. To D'Alembert and Diderot French literature is indebted for many truly classical productions, and the whole literary world for that treasury of universal science the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*. Marmontel, who contributed liberally towards this great work, has farther enriched the literature of his country by a new species of fiction, in his enchanting *Contes Moraux*. More philosophical than the common novel, and less prolix than the romance, they combine instruction and amusement in a manner, perhaps, superior to every other species of fanciful composition. Nor must I, in speaking of the improvers of French literature, omit the two Crebillons. The father has given to tragedy a force of character not found in Corneille or Voltaire, and the romances of the son are captivating but libertine productions in a new taste. This sportive and elegant mode of writing, with all its levities, digressions, and wild display of sentiment, has been happily imitated in England, by the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*, generally supposed to be an original. Even the idea of the much-admired *Adventures of a Guinea* is borrowed from the *Sopha* of the younger Crebillon.

C H A P. CVII.

ON THE ORIGIN AND EFFECTS OF SCULPTURE.

THAT the human mind is naturally delighted with the works of imitation, is a remark of the earliest philosophers ; and the justness of it has been uniformly confirmed by every subsequent enquiry. Even those objects, which in the reality disgust the senses, please the imagination, when imitated by a skilful artist : but if imitation is capable of converting deformity to beauty, and of teaching inelegance to please, its influence must be much greater, when the object imitated originally excites ideas of the sublime and beautiful.

Just representations of the irrational or inanimate creation are, indeed, in a great degree pleasing ; but the highest delight which the fine arts can bestow, is derived from imitations of human nature. The variegated landscape is, perhaps, viewed with greater complacency on the canvas, than in the natural appearance ; because imitation adds a grace to the intrinsic beauty. The bloom of the grape, the blush of the peach, and the crimson of the rose, designed by nature to please, may perhaps please yet more when artificially presented to the view by her hand-maiden. The same observation may justly be extended to the imitation of animals, and the placid scenery of still life. All these are found to please the imagination, but not to elevate the mind. They

inspire

inspire a complacency, but do not warm with sentiment, or animate to virtue. To touch the heart with sympathy, to excite the nobler affections, and to give a masculine pleasure, man must be the object of imitation. That general connection, which subsists between all who partake of humanity, causes a general concern in the interests of each individual. Man indeed views the actions and passions of men with all the solicitude of one concerned in the event, but looks down upon the lower parts of the creation, with the dispassionate curiosity of a disinterested spectator.

To represent the attitudes of his actions, and the features of his passions, is the principal business of sculpture; and though a considerable degree of its excellence depends on the delicacy of manual execution, yet has it ever maintained a distinguished place among the arts which require a fine imagination. Nature, indeed, lies open to the inspection of the learned and of the unlearned, of the stupid and of the ingenious; but the man of fine feeling, and of elegant taste, can alone perceive and imitate her more delicate traits, her more captivating, though less obvious allurements.

The first productions of this art probably owe their origin to religion. Too gross to conceive immaterial ideas of the Deity, the vulgar wanted some sensible object to fix their attention, and excite their enthusiasm. Thus he, whose temple is all space, and whose altar the universe, was confined in his residence to some rude image, shapen by the hand of idolatry: but however derogatory from the dignity of the Supreme Being, or inconsistent with the reason of man, the practice has been peculiarly favourable to the arts of imitation. The statue that was formed as an object of religious adoration, has indeed failed

in its original purpose ; but it has been viewed with a degree of wonder as ardent as devotion.

And, indeed, it is to be presumed, that few will wish that idolatrous attention, which is at present paid to the statues of the ancient deities, forbidden : for whenever they shall cease to be admired, they will cease to be imitated. Such an event every friend to just taste will deprecate, since to renounce the models of the ancients, is to renounce the most captivating embellishment of art, an adherence to simplicity and nature. While a Venus de Medicis, and an Apollo Belvidere, shall continue to be standards of excellence, no one can with reason apprehend, lest the chaste graces of real elegance should be sacrificed to the false glare of Gothic affectation.

To do justice to the remains of antiquity by description, requires a pen as masterly as the artist's chissel. A Virgil should exhibit the ideas of a Praxiteles. A professor of the art, may, perhaps, find technical terms adequate to a technical description. He may expatiate on proportion, and dictate rules for forming a judgment ; but the language of an artist can seldom be completely understood but by artists.

Comparisons are frequently made between the respective beauty, the value, and the utility, of the several arts. One of the best judges of antiquity has asserted, in a well known passage of his works, that all the arts which tend to polish and refine human nature, are united by a common bond. That painting, poetry, and sculpture, nearly approximate to each other, is obvious on the slightest review. They have constantly reflected images on each other ; and, joining like the Graces, hand in hand, have,

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from the union of their force, commanded, in all ages, universal admiration. If the Mantuan muse drew her most beautiful pictures from the originals of Sculpture, to the muse of Homer, on the other hand, has Sculpture been indebted for her masterpiece. The sublime idea of a Being, who shook the heavens with his nod, existed originally in the poet's mind. The artist, however, embodied the ideal form, and may be said to have wanted only Promethean aid to have realized the creature of imagination. The marble form has been transferred to canvas, and the representation of the tablet to the marble, with equal applause both to the arts and to the professors: and though some have essayed to ascertain the superiority of one or other of these sister arts, yet as it is invidious to give a distinguishing preference to either, when each endeavours to exalt the other, it may be more candid to assert, with Horace, on a similar occasion, that they equally require and communicate mutual assistance, with all the benignity of disinterested friendship.

Sculpture is not, any more than the other arts, confined to imitations of the human form. Subordinate to statuary, are many other operations of the chissel, which require both ingenuity of design, and skill of execution. The marble urn, and the sepulchral monument, have ever been the chief ornament of mansions dedicated to the Deity. The palaces of princes have derived less splendour from the profusion of finery, and the glittering of magnificence, than from the foliage of the Corinthian capital, and the elegant wreaths of the festoon; and though the modern invention of multiplying the works of the artists, by devices which require no ingenuity, has prostituted the ornaments of a temple to the gaudiness of a suburban villa, and the deco-

tarion of a palace to the embellishment of a tradesman's door-post ; yet must not he, whose hand formed the original vase, or sculptured the storied urn, lose that praise which is ever due to the inventive artist.

It belongs to sculpture, as well as to painting, not only to represent single figures, but to combine them in a group. The relievo is a marble picture ; though it wants those graces of the canvas, which result from a due mixture of light and shade, and from a variety of colours, yet it possesses some advantages which may ultimately compensate the defect. Exposure to the weather, the commonest accidents, and the insensible depredations of time, soon destroy the comparatively transient productions of the pencil ; but the marble tablet defies the corroding tooth of ages, and may survive even a deluge or a conflagration. There remains not a single painting of Parrhasius or Apelles, of Timanthes or Protagoras, by which we can judge of the justice of those praises so lavishly bestowed on them by Pliny, Quintilian, and Lucian ; but many ancient relievos continue to the present day in all their original perfection.

Sculpture displays peculiar grace and excellence, when it condescends to work in miniature. The gem, however precious and beautiful, receives additional value, and more attractive beauty, from the hand of the artist. The features of the hero and philosopher, when marked on the stone, whose cohesion is like that of adamant, are transmitted to the latest ages, unhurt by accidents, and unimpaired by time. Thus is the votary of learning enabled to behold the countenances of those whose achievements astonish, whose writings charm, and whose precepts improve him ; and after the lapse of some thousand years, to indulge the natural desire of
viewing

viewing the real aspect of men who shone in the field and in the cabinet, or who dignified the portico or the academy. When all other sources of information have failed, the figure on the gem has often illustrated beauties, and cleared obscurities in the classics and the historians. Of these smaller productions of the sculptor, the ingenuity of modern invention, stimulated by the hopes of gain, has found means to multiply copies without number; but though the copies should lessen the pecuniary value, they cannot diminish the intrinsic merit of the originals.

That species of sculpture which is distinguished by the specific appellation of *Engraving on Copper*, was totally unknown to the ancients. By the co-operation of this sister art, the productions of painting are universally diffused, and the ornament reserved in the gallery of an individual, becomes the embellishment of every habitation. However great its uses, and exalted its perfection, it must be confessed, by every impartial observer, to owe a great degree of its advancement to the artists of our own country; and it were easy to enumerate some works of English engravers, of which the justness of representation, and the delicacy of execution, have not been surpassed by any age or any nation.

C H A P. CVIII.

ON THE TASTE OF THE ENGLISH FOR
SCULPTURE.

THERE are some, who with a spirit too confined for the liberality of philosophy, have excluded from all pretensions to refined taste, that part of mankind which nature has placed in the northern regions. This faculty has been limited to those happier mortals who inhale the balmy breezes of the warmer climates. That these arts have been most successfully cultivated in the warmer countries of Europe cannot be denied; but let it not be said, that any of the faculties of the free-born mind are local. Nor let it be hastily concluded, that the English, who are classed by these philosophers among the northern savages, but who are known to possess the mental powers in a state of vigour equal at least to the rest of the world, are destitute of taste, of that faculty which adds a grace to the exertions of all others, and without which the strongest efforts of the mind have an appearance of illiberality. If it was late before our artists made any considerable proficiency in sculpture, it must not be immediately inferred, that they were incapable of excellence; but that, as is incontestably true, they did not attempt it. To expect that the art should attain perfection before it is an object of national attention, is no less unreasonable than to require the fruit in maturity before the plantation of the tree.

The sunshine of royal or popular patronage can
baffle

baffle the rigours of climate, and raise luxuriant vegetation on the bleakest mountain. Rewarded by a prince, and encouraged by a people, it is not to be wondered, that sculpture has among us made rapid advances to attainable perfection. It were, indeed, easy to enumerate names, which would do honour to the schools of Greece, and of ancient and modern Italy; but to praise living merit, is frequently to excite envy without conferring fame. The ingenious artist then must be content to appeal to posterity for unalloyed applause; and, when the tongue of envy shall be wearied with detraction, merited praise will find a willing audience. There are sculptors among us, of the present day, whose fame will be as durable as the marble which they shape, and who, while they carve the block, may promise themselves, like Thucydides, an everlasting possession.

Those arts, however, after all that has been said in their praise, which tend to flatter the imagination without amending the heart, and the utility of which appears to consist in their administration to pleasure, will, perhaps, be judged unworthy a serious attention by the rigid votaries of severe virtue. Too wise to be captivated with pleasure, they seek only for improvement. The pill that contributes to health, they can swallow without requiring it to be covered with gold or sweetened with honey; but to condemn the productions of the chissel as merely instrumental to delight, is to assume that as a concession which can never be granted. In truth, the imitative arts are capable of conveying moral instruction in the most effectual manner, as their operation is instantaneous. They require not the deductions of logic, which can only be made by cultivated intellects; but by appealing to the senses, which are sometimes combined in great perfection with

with the rudest minds, they strike immediately and irresistibly on the susceptible heart. The master's hand can give to matter the features of the soul, and impress on the rude block those thoughts and passions, which naturally excite congenial sentiments and sympathetic emotions; and the mind, which, perhaps, could never be sensible of the beauty of virtue from the reasoning of a Plato, or a Socrates, may be captivated with her amiable form when displayed by a Phidias or Praxiteles.

No man of sensibility can walk in the repositories of the illustrious dead, where the forms that moulder beneath his feet are represented in marble on the walls, without feeling, as he treads the solemn aisle, the most virtuous sensations. His faculties seem to stretch, and his virtues to expand, in efforts to reach the level of such exalted society. He catches the contagion of virtue by intuition, he forms heroic resolutions of emulating the excellence he admires, and, perhaps, ventures to entertain a secret hope, that he may one day fill a niche in the venerable circle of departed worthies. The descendant blushes to degenerate from his ancestors, who seem to view him from the sacred walls, and would upbraid him with his baseness. He feels himself stimulated to equal, if not to surpass, their glories.

Sculpture has, likewise, another no less efficacious, though more indirect, influence on the morals. It has, in common with all the fine arts, a powerful effect in softening the temper, and humanizing the manners, an effect which will, perhaps, be felt and acknowledged by none but men of delicate taste and elegant attainments. The votaries of gain, of luxury, or of gross pleasure, have lost by the grossness of their enjoyments that nice susceptibility of impressions, that tenderness of feeling, which can alone perceive, with full force, the pleasures of imagination.

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The vulgar eye gazes with equal satisfaction on the canvas of a Titian, and the daubings of a sign post; and discovers no more ingenuity in the works of the statuary, than in the rude image of the mere mechanic: but they whose natural feelings have been properly improved by culture, nor have yet become callous by attrition with the world, know from experience how the heart is mollified, the manners polished, and the temper sweetened by a well directed study of the arts of imitation. A fine sensibility of artificial excellence insensibly extends itself to the perception of natural and moral beauty; and the student returns from the artist's gallery to his station in society, with a breast more disposed to feel and to reverberate the endearments of social life, and of reciprocal benevolence.

Sculpture claims, indeed, the power of exciting virtue, and the privilege of rewarding it. Many of the great benefactors to mankind have been animated in danger, and supported in fatigue, by the enlivening hope of enjoying a future existence in the memory of posterity. Satisfied with this recompence in reversion, heroes, patriots, and philosophers, have neglected the calls of interest, and the allurements of pleasure, to advance the happiness of society, and to adorn humanity. The sweet solace of their pain, the compensation of their labours, for which the heart has often panted, and every faculty has toiled, may be ultimately conferred by the hand of the statuary. Let not, therefore, the art be prostituted to perpetuate insignificance or vice, and to gratify the vanity of undeserving opulence, which possesses the power of rewarding virtue, and of bestowing immortality on perishable excellence.

C H A P. CIX.

OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN GREAT
BRITAIN DURING THE LATTER PART OF
THE LAST, AND PRESENT CENTURY.

ARTS, manners, and literature, have made great progress in Great Britain since the glorious era of the Revolution, when our civil and religious rights were fully established, and our constitution more equally balanced. This fortunate event, which diverted the mind from trifling objects, introduced a passion for political reasoning; and the austere character of William, with the exemplary deportment of Mary, gave a check to the licentious manners of the court, which had given great offence to the virtuous part of the nation, during the two preceding reigns. Under the reign of William, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift his *Tale of a Tub*; two of the most excellent prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter; the one an example of close manly reasoning, carrying conviction to the heart, the other of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was regarded in England, by one half of the nation, as only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court, and the advance of taste and politeness was very inconsiderable, till the reign of queen Anne; when the splendour

dour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then were displayed the strong talents and elegant accomplishments of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, a Somers, a Harley, and a St. John. Then subsisted in full force that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never failed to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Vanburgh, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them in early life obtained places in some of the less burthensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independency.

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular vein, several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the *SPECTATOR*; which, by combating with reason and ridicule, wit, humour, and delicate raillery, the faults in composition and the improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both. Such a monitor was indeed much wanted. The comedies of Vanburgh, so justly admired for their genuine humour and ease of dialogue, are shockingly licentious; and the principal characters in the greater part of Congreve's pieces, where wit sparkles with unborrowed brilliancy, are so libertine or prostitute, as to put virtue and decency utterly out of countenance.

Addison's *Cato* is a noble effort of cultivated genius;

nus; and notwithstanding its supposed want of pathos, because it provokes no womanish tears, it is perhaps our best modern tragedy. Addison has also written verses on various subjects, both in English and Latin, and is always elegant and correct, though not enthusiastically poetical. But whatever merit he may have as a poet, he is great as a prose writer. Swift had given a perspicuity and conciseness to the clouded redundancy of Clarendon, and compactness to the loose, though harmonious periods of Temple; but it was left to Addison to furnish elegance and grace, and to enchant us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. He had a principal share in the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and other papers of the same kind. In those papers, he has written on an infinite variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treated each so happily, it might be thought he had studied that alone. Our language is more indebted to him, not only for words and phrases, but even for images, than to any other in prose. If his style has any fault, it is want of force.

This defect in our prose was supplied by lord Bolingbroke, who, in his *Dissertation on Parties*, his *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and his *Idea of a Patriot King*, has united strength with elegance, and energy and elevation with grace. The earl of Chesterfield is perhaps more elegantly correct, and gracefully easy, but he wants the strength of his master. The Letters published under the signature of Junius, have all the force and energy of Bolingbroke, with all the close and pointed expression of Swift. Robertson's style has many beauties, and the compositions of Johnson many splendid passages and deep remarks.

C H A P. CX.

OF MATTHEW PRIOR.

THIS celebrated poet was the son of Mr. George Prior, citizen of London, who was by profession a joiner. Our author was born in 1664. His father dying when he was very young, left him to the care of an uncle, who was a vintner at Charing-Cross, who discharged the trust that was reposed in him, with a tenderness truly paternal, as Mr. Prior always acknowledged with the highest professions of gratitude. He received part of his education at Westminster school, where he distinguished himself to great advantage, but was afterwards taken home by his uncle in order to be bred up to his trade. Notwithstanding this mean employment, to which Mr. Prior seemed now doomed, yet at his leisure hours he prosecuted his study of the classics, and especially his favourite Horace; by which means he was soon taken notice of, by the polite company who resorted to his uncle's house. It happened one day, that the earl of Dorset being at his tavern, which he often frequented with several gentlemen of rank, the discourse turned upon the Odes of Horace; and the company being divided in their sentiments about a passage in that poet, one of the gentlemen said, "I find we are not like to agree in our criticisms; but, if I am not mistaken, there is a young fellow in the house, who is able to set us all right:" upon which he named Prior, who was immediately sent for, and desired to give his opinion of Horace's meaning in the Ode under consideration. This he did with great modesty, and so much to the satisfaction of the company, that the earl of Dorset, from that moment, determined to remove him from the station in which he was, to one more suited to his genius; and accordingly

accordingly procured him to be sent to St. John's college in Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1686, and afterwards became fellow of the college.

During his residence in the university, he contracted an intimate friendship with Charles Montague, esq. afterwards earl of Halifax, in conjunction with whom he wrote a very humerous piece, intitl'd *The Hind and Panther transversed to the story of the Country Mouse, and the City Mouse*, printed 1687, in 4to, in answer to Mr. Dryden's *Hind and the Panther*, published the year before.

Upon the revolution, Mr. Prior was brought to court by his great patron the earl of Dorset, by whose interest he was introduced to public employment, and in the year 1690 was made secretary to the earl of Berkley; plenipotentiary to king William and queen Mary, at the congress at the Hague.

In this station he acquitted himself so well, that he was afterwards appointed secretary to the earl of Pembroke, and Jersey, and Sir Joseph Williamson, ambassadors, and plenipotentiaries, at the treaty of Ryswick, 1697; as he was likewise in 1698, to the earl of Portland, ambassador to the court of France. While he was in that kingdom, one of the French king's household, shewing him the royal apartments and curiosities at Versailles, especially the paintings of Le Brun, wherein the victories of Lewis XIV are described, asked him, whether king William's actions were to be seen in his palace? "No, Sir," replied Mr. Prior, "the monuments of my master's actions were to be seen every where, but in his own house."

In the year 1699, Mr. Prior was made secretary of state for Ireland; in 1700, was created master of arts by mandamus, and appointed one of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, upon the resignation of Mr. Locke. He was also member of parliament for East-Grinstead, in Suffex. In 1710, he was supposed to have had a share in writing the *Examiner*, and particularly

larly a criticism in it upon a poem of Dr. Garth to the earl of Godolphin.

About this time, when Godolphin was defeated by Oxford; and the tories, who had long been eclipsed by the lustre of Marlborough, began again to hold up their heads; Mr. Prior and Dr. Garth espoused opposite interests; Mr. Prior wrote for, and Gath against the court. The Dr. was so far honest, that he did not desert his patron in distress; and notwithstanding the cloud which then hung upon the party, demonstrated his gratitude in verses to the earl.

While Mr. Prior was thus very early initiated in public business, and continued in the hurry of affairs for many years, it must appear not a little surprizing, that he should find sufficient opportunities to cultivate his poetical talents, to the amazing height he raised them. In his preface to his poems, he says, that poetry was only the product of his leisure hours; that he had commonly business enough upon his hands, and, as he modestly adds, was only a poet by accident; but we must take the liberty of differing from him in the last particular; for Mr. Prior seems to have received from the muses, at his nativity, all the graces they could well bestow on their greatest favourite.

We must not omit one instance in Mr. Prior's conduct, which will appear very remarkable: he was chosen a member of that parliament which impeached the Partition Treaty, to which he himself had been secretary; and though his share in that transaction was consequently very considerable, yet he joined in the impeachment upon an honest principle of conviction, that exceptionable measures attended it.

The lord Bolingbroke (who, notwithstanding many exceptions made both to his conduct and sentiments, in other instances, yet must be allowed to be an accomplished judge of fine talents) entertained the highest esteem for Mr. Prior, on account of his shining abilities. This noble lord, in a letter, dated September

10, 1712, addressed to Mr. Prior, while he was the queen's minister, and plenipotentiary at the court of France, pays him the following compliment: "For God's sake, Matt. hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians, than the French are poets." His lordship thus concludes his epistle: "It is near three o'clock in the morning: I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue; excuse therefore the confusedness of this scroll, which is only from Harry to Matt. and not from the secretary to the minister. Adieu, my pen is ready to drop out of my hand, it being now three o'clock in the morning: believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully your's, &c.

"BOLINGBROKE."

There are several other letters from Bolingbroke to Prior, which, were it necessary, we might insert as evidences of his esteem for him; but Mr. Prior was in every respect so great a man, that the esteem even of lord Bolingbroke cannot add much to the lustre of his reputation, both as a statesman and a poet. Mr. Prior is represented by those who knew, and have wrote concerning him, as a gentleman, who united the elegance and politeness of a court with the scholar, and the man of genius. This representation, in general, may be just, yet it holds almost inevitably true, that they who have risen from low life, still retain some traces of their original. No cultivation, no genius, it seems, is able entirely to surmount this: there was one particular in which Mr. Prior verified the old proverb.

The same woman who could charm the waiter in a tavern, still maintained her dominion over the ambassador at France. The Chloe of Prior, it seems, was a woman in this station of life; but he never forsook her in the height of his reputation. Hence we may observe, that associations with women are the most lasting

ing of all; and that when an eminent station raises a man above many other acts of condescension, a mistress will maintain her influence, charm away the pride of greatness, and make the hero who fights, and the patriot who speaks, for the liberty of his country, a slave to her. One would imagine, however, that this woman, who was a butcher's wife, must either have been very handsome, or have had something about her superior to people of her rank; but it seems the case was otherwise, and no better reason can be given for Mr. Prior's attachment to her, but that she was his taste. Her husband suffered their intrigue to go on unmolested; for he was proud even of such a connexion as this, with so great a man as Prior; a singular instance of good-nature.

In the year 1715, Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and upon his arrival was taken up by a warrant from the House of Commons; shortly after which, he underwent a strict examination by a committee of the privy council. His political friend, lord Bolingbroke, foreseeing a storm, took shelter in France, and secured Harry, but left poor Matt. in the lurch.

On the 10th of June, Robert Walpole, esq. moved the house against him; and on the 17th, Mr. Prior was ordered into close custody, and no person was admitted to see him without leave from the speaker. For the particulars of this procedure of the parliament, both against Mr. Prior, and many others concerned in the public transactions of the preceding reign, we refer to the histories of that time. In the year 1717, an act of grace was passed in favour of those who had opposed the Hanoverian succession, as well as those who had been in open rebellion, but Mr. Prior was excepted out of it. At the close of this year, however, he was discharged from his confinement, and retired to spend the residue of his days at Downhall in Essex.

The severe usage which Mr. Prior met with, perhaps,

haps, was the occasion of the following beautiful lines addressed to his Chloe :

From public noise, and factious strife,
From all the busy ills of life,
Take me, my Chloe, to thy breast ;
And lull my wearied soul to rest :
For ever, in this humble cell,
Let thee and I, my fair one, dwell ;
None enter else, but love——and he
Shall bar the door, and keep the key.

To painted roofs and shining spires
(Uneasy seats of high desires)

Let the unthinking many croud,
That dare be covetous and proud ;
In golden bondage let them wait,
And barter happiness for state :
But, oh ! my Chloe, when thy swain
Desires to see a court again,
May Heav'n around his destin'd head
The choicest of his curses shed ;
To sum up all the rage of fate,
In the two things I dread, and hate,
May'st thou be false, and I be great.

Mr. Prior, after the fatigue of many years passed in various services of action, was desirous of spending the remainder of his days in rural tranquillity, which the greatest men of all ages have been fond of enjoying ; he was so happy as to succeed in his wish, by living a very retired, and contemplative life, at Down-hall, in Essex ; and found, as he expressed himself, a more solid, and innocent satisfaction among woods and meadows, than he had enjoyed in the hurry and tumults of the world, the courts of princes, or the conducting foreign negotiations.

This great man died on the 18th, of September 1721, at Wimple, in Cambridgeshire, the seat of the earl of Oxford, with whose friendship he had been honoured for some years. The death of so distinguished a person

son was justly esteemed an irreparable loss to the polite world; and his memory will be ever dear to those who have any relish for the muses in their softer charms. Some of the latter part of his life was employed in collecting materials for an history of the transactions of his own times, but his death unfortunately deprived the world of what the touches of so masterly a hand would have made exceeding valuable.

Mr. Prior, by the suffrage of all men of taste, holds the first rank in poetry, for the delicacy of his numbers, the wittiness of his turns, the acuteness of his remarks, and, in one performance, for the amazing force of his sentiments. His style is likewise so pure, that our language knows no higher authority, and there is an air of original in his minutest performances.

CHAP. CXI.

OF MR. POPE'S POETICAL MERIT.

WHAT Bolingbroke performed in prose, his friend Pope accomplished even more fully in verse. His Ethical Epistles deserve to be mentioned, with signal honour, as a model of Didactic Poetry. Having early discovered the bent of his genius, he diligently studied the poets who had written before him in his native tongue, but more especially those who had made use of rhyme; not, as has been invidiously insinuated, that he found his genius too feeble to give vigour to blank verse, but because rhyme was the prevailing mode of versification when he began to turn his mind to poetry. The public had not yet acquired a taste for the majesty of Miltonic numbers, or that varied harmony which they afford to the delicate and cultivated ear. He seems, therefore, to have confined his attention

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chiefly

chiefly to Waller, Denham, and Dryden. Denham wrote in the reign of Charles II, but was little infected with the bad taste of his age. His descriptive poem, entitled *Cooper's Hill*, is still deservedly admired. It abounds with natural images, happily blended with moral reflections. His style is close, and his versification vigorous. The following lines will exemplify his manner of writing :

- " My eye descending from the hill, surveys
- " Where Thames among the wanton vallies strays :
- " Thames, the most lov'd of all the ocean's sons
- " By his old fire, to his embraces runs;
- " Hast'ning to pay his tribute to the sea,
- " Like mortal life, to meet eternity.
- " Tho' with those streams he no resemblance hold,
- " Whose foam is amber, and their gravel gold,
- " His genuine and less guilty wealth t' explore,
- " Search not his bottom, but survey his shore."

Pope was not insensible to the merit of Denham's versification, but he saw it necessary to look nearer his own time for a master; and he found such a master as he sought in Dryden; who, to the sweetness of Waller, and the strength of Denham, was added a compass of verse, and an energy that is entirely his own. He accordingly made the versification of Dryden his model, and if he had not fully equalled the fire of *Abolom* and *Achitophel*, or the easy and animated flow of the fables of his master, the collected force and finer polish of his numbers, a nicer choice of words, and a more delicate and just, though less bold imagery, entitle him to all the praise that can possibly belong to an emulous imitator, not invested with absolute superiority; while new flights of fancy, and new turn of thought and expression, more sensibility of heart, and greater elevation of mind, with a closer attention to natural and moral objects, gave him all the requisites of a rival more favoured by fortune, and more zealous in the pursuit of fame.

One can scarce think that Pope was capable of Epic or Tragic Poetry; but, within a certain limited region, he has been outdone by no poet. His translation of the *Iliad* will remain a lasting monument to his honour, as the most elegant and highly finished translation that, perhaps, ever was given of any poetical work.

That he was not incapable of tender poetry, appears from the epistle of Eloisa to Abelard, and from the verses to the memory of an unfortunate lady, which are almost his only sentimental productions; and which indeed are excellent in their kind. But the qualities for which he is chiefly distinguished, are, judgment and wit, with a concise and happy expression, and a melodious versification. Few poets ever had more wit, and at the same time more judgment, to direct the proper employment of that wit. This renders his *Rape of the Lock* the greatest master-piece that perhaps was ever composed, in the gay and sprightly style; and in his serious works, such as his *Essay on Man*, and his *Ethic Epistles*, his wit just discovers itself as much, as to give a proper seasoning to grave reflections.

His imitations of Horace are so peculiarly happy, that one is at a loss, whether most to admire the original, or the copy; and they are among the few imitations extant, that have all the grace and ease of an original. His paintings of characters are natural and lively in a high degree; and never was any writer so happy in that concise spirited style, which gives animation to *Satires* and *Epistles*. We are never so sensible of the good effects of rhyme in English verse, as in reading these parts of his works. We see it adding to the style, an elevation which otherwise it could not have possessed; while at the same time he manages it so artfully, that it never appears in the least to encumber him; but, on the contrary, serves to increase the liveliness of his manner. He tells us himself, that he

could express moral observations more concisely, and therefore more forcibly, in rhyme, than he could do in prose.

If Pope's versification has any fault, it is that of too much regularity. He generally concludes the sense with the couplet. This practice enabled him to give great brilliancy to his thoughts, and strength to his numbers. It has therefore a good effect in his moral and satirical pieces; though it certainly offends the ear, when often repeated, and becomes altogether cloying in long poems, but especially in those of the narrative or descriptive kind. A fault so obvious, though committed by himself, could not escape the correct taste and keen discernment of Pope: we accordingly find in his translation of Homer, where such monotonous uniformity would have been inexcusable, as well as in his lighter pieces, a more free and varied versification.

Goldsmith's Traveller, though a beautiful poem, affords some instances of the same fault. His Deserted Village is a close, but happy imitation of Pope's best manner. If any author has recovered the freedom of Dryden, without losing the harmony of the force of Pope, it is Mickle, in some parts of his excellent translation of the Lusiad.

C H A P. CXII.

OF THE PASTORAL POETRY OF POPE, PHILIPS,
SHENSTONE, AND ALLAN RAMSEY.

NEITHER Mr. Pope's nor Mr. Philips's Pastorals do any great honour to the English Poetry. Mr. Pope's were composed in his youth; which may be an apology

apology for other faults, but cannot well excuse the barrenness that appears in them. They are written in remarkably smooth and flowing numbers: and this is their chief merit; for there is scarcely any thought in them which can be called his own; scarcely any description, or any image of nature, which has the marks of being original, or copied from nature itself; but a repetition of the common images that are to be found in Virgil, and in all poets who write of rural themes.

Philips attempted to be more simple and natural than Pope; but he wanted genius to support his attempt, or to write agreeably. He too runs on the common and beaten topics; and endeavouring to be simple, becomes flat and insipid. There was no small competition between these two authors, at the time when their pastorals were published. In some papers of the *Guardian*, great partiality was shewn to Philips, and high praise bestowed upon him. Mr. Pope, resenting this preference, under a feigned name, procured a paper to be inserted in the *Guardian*, wherein he seemingly carries on the plan of extolling Philips; but in reality satirises him most severely with ironical praises; and in an artful covered manner, gives the palm to himself. About the same time, Mr. Gay published his *Shepherd's Week*, in six pastorals, which are designed to ridicule that sort of simplicity which Philips and his partizans extolled, and are, indeed, an ingenious burlesque of pastoral writing, when it rises no higher than the manners of modern clowns and rustics.

Mr. Shenstone's ballad in four parts may justly be reckoned, I think, one of the most elegant poems of this kind, which we have in English. He has given us a refined species of rural poetry, with which we were formerly acquainted. It represents the manners and the sentiments of a gentleman residing in the country, instead of those of a clown. In this respect, it does not differ materially from the pastorals of the polished and courtly Virgil, who would not be ashamed to own the following elegant passages:

" One would think she might like to retire
 " To the bow'r I have labour'd to rear;
 " Not a shrub that I heard her admire,
 " But I hasted and planted it there.
 " O how sudden the jessâmin strove
 " With the lilac to render it gay!
 " Already it calls for my love,
 " To prune the wild branches away.

" I have found out a gift for my fair;
 " I have found where the wood-pigeons breed;
 " But let me that plunder forbear,
 " She will say 'twas a barbarous deed;
 " For he ne'er could be true, she averr'd,
 " Who could rob a poor bird of its young;
 " And I loved her the more when I heard
 " Such tendernefs fall from her tongue.

" I have heard her with sweetness unfold
 " How that pity was due to a dove,
 " That it ever attended the bold,
 " And she call'd it the sister of love;
 " But her words such a pleasure convey,
 " So much I her accents adore,
 " Let her speak, and whatever she say,
 " Methinks I should love her the more.

" Can a bosom so gentle remain
 " Unmov'd when her Corydon sighs?
 " Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
 " These plains and this valley despise?
 " Dear regions of silence and shade,
 " Soft scenes of contentment and ease!
 " Where I could have pleasingly stray'd
 " If ought in her absence could please.

" But where does my Phyllida stray?
 " And where are her grots and her bow'rs?
 " Are the groves and the vallies as gay,
 " And the shepherds as gentle as our's?

" The

- “ The groves may perhaps be as fair,
 “ And the face of the valleys as fine;
 “ The swains may in manners compare,
 “ But their love is not equal to mine.”

I must not omit the mention of another pastoral production, which will bear being brought into comparison with any composition of this kind, in any language; that is Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd. It is a great disadvantage to this beautiful poem, that it is written in the old rustic dialect of Scotland, which in a short time will probably be entirely obsolete, and not intelligible; and it is a farther disadvantage, that it is so entirely formed on the rural manners of Scotland, that none but a native of that country can thoroughly understand, or relish it. But though subject to these local disadvantages, which confine its reputation within narrow limits, it is full of so much natural description, as would do honour to any poet. The characters are well drawn, the incidents affecting; the scenery and manners lively and just. It affords a strong proof, both of the power which nature and simplicity possess, to reach the heart in every sort of writing; and of the variety of pleasing characters and subjects, with which pastoral poetry, when properly managed, is capable of being enlivened.

C H A P. CXIII.

OF THOMSON, PARNELL, AKENSIDE, AND
 ARMSTRONG.

OF all professed descriptive composition, says Dr. Blair, the largest and fullest that I am acquainted with, in any language, is Mr. Thomson's *Seasons*: a work which

which possesses very uncommon merit. The style, in the midst of much splendor and strength, is sometimes harsh, and may be censured as deficient in ease and distinctness. But, notwithstanding this effect, Thomson is a strong and beautiful describer; for he had a feeling heart, and a warm imagination. He had studied and copied nature with care. Enamoured of her beauties, he not only described them properly, but felt their impression with strong sensibility. The impression which he felt, he transmits to his readers; and no person of taste can peruse any one of his Seasons, without having the ideas and feelings which belong to that season, recalled, and rendered present to his mind. Several instances of most beautiful description might be given from him: such as the shower in the spring, the morning in summer, and the man perishing in snow in winter. But, at present, I shall produce a passage of another kind, to shew the power of a single well-chosen circumstance, to heighten a description. In his summer, relating the effects of heat in the torrid zone, he is led to take notice of the pestilence that destroyed the English fleet, at Carthage, under Admiral Vernon; when he has the following lines:

——— “ You, gallant Vernon, saw
 “ The miserable scene; you pitying saw
 “ To infant weakness sunk the warrior’s arm;
 “ Saw the deep racking pang; the ghastly form;
 “ The lip pale quiv’ring; and the beamless eye
 “ No more with ardour bright; you heard the groans
 “ Of agonizing ships from shore to shore;
 “ Heard nightly plunged, amid the sullen waves,
 “ The frequent corse.”——

All the circumstances here are properly chosen, for setting this dismal scene in a strong light before our eyes. But what is most striking in the picture, is the

last image. We are conducted through all the scenes of distress, till we come to the mortality prevailing in the fleet, which a vulgar Poet would have described by exaggerated expressions, concerning the multiplied trophies and victories of death. But how much more is the imagination impressed by this single circumstance, of dead bodies being thrown overboard every night; of the sound of their falling into the waters, and of the Admiral listening to the melancholy sound, so often striking his ear?

“ Heard nightly plunged, amid the sullen waves,

“ The frequent corse.”——

The eulogium which Dr. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, gives of Thomson, is high, and very just: “ As a writer, he is entitled to one praise of the highest kind; his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, is original. His blank verse is no more the blank verse of Milton, or any other poet, than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and he thinks always as a man of genius. He looks round on nature and life, with the eye which nature bestows only on a poet; the eye that distinguishes in every thing presented to its view, whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained; and with a mind, that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of the *Seasons* wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shews him, and that he never yet has felt what Thomson impresses. His descriptions of extended scenes, and general effects bring before us the whole magnificence of nature, whether pleasing or dreadful. The gaiety of spring, the splendour of summer, the tranquillity of autumn, and the horror of winter, take, in their turn, possession of the

the mind. The poet leads us through the appearances of things, as they are successively varied by the vicissitudes of the year, and imparts to us so much of his own enthusiasm, that our thoughts expand with his imagery, and kindle with his sentiments."

Mr. Parnell's Tale of the Hermit, is conspicuous, throughout the whole of it, for beautiful Descriptive Narration. The manner of the Hermit's setting forth to visit the world; his meeting with a companion, and the houses in which they are successively entertained, of the vain man, the covetous man, and the good man, are pieces of very fine painting, touched with a light and delicate pencil, overcharged with no superfluous colouring, and conveying to us a lively idea of the objects.

Akenfide, *feelingly alive* to all the impressions of natural and moral beauty, who surveyed the universe with a truly philosophic eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, has given us, in his *Pleasures of Imagination*, a delightful system of taste, unfolded in all the majesty of Miltonic verse.

Armstrong, the friend of Thomson, and like Akenfide a physician by profession, has bequeathed to mankind a very valuable legacy, in his *Art of preserving Health*, and furnished the literary world with a more classical poem, perhaps, in the same species of verse, than either the *Seasons*, or the *Pleasures of Imagination*.

While blank verse was thus attaining its highest polish, and descriptive and didactic poetry approaching towards perfection, the lighter walks of the Muse were not neglected. Akenfide, not satisfied with rivalling Virgil in his most finished work, entered the lists also with Horace and Pindar: and although he has not perhaps equalled the courtly gaiety of the former, or the grandeur, fire, and bold digressions of the latter, he deserves much praise for having given us the first classical

cal examples of the manner of both. Nor have we yet many finer stanzas in our language, than the following, in his Ode on *Lyric Poetry*:

“ Propitious Muse!
 “ While I so late unlock thy hallowed springs,
 “ And breathe whate’er thine ancient airs infuse
 “ To polish Albion’s warlike ear,
 “ This long-lost melody to hear
 “ Thy sweetest arts employ;
 “ As when the winds from shore to shore
 “ Through Greece thy Lyre’s persuasive language bore,
 “ Till towns, and isles, and seas returned the vocal joy.”

CHAP. CXIV.

OF HAMMOND AND GRAY.

ABOUT the same time that Akenfide was perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verses, by Hammond; a man of taste and sensibility, who has successfully imitated the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and given to his amorous solicitations a soft melancholy, entirely in unison with the tone of the passion, and a tenderness to which Waller and Prior were strangers. A short extract will illustrate these observations:

“ With thee I hop’d to waste the pleasing day,
 “ Till in thine arms an age of joy was past;
 “ Then, old with love, insensibly decay,
 “ And on thy bosom gently breathe my last.
 “ I scorn

" I scorn the Lydian river's golden wave,
 " And all the vulgar charms of human life;
 " I only ask to live my Delia's slave,
 " And when I long have serv'd her—call her wife."

This species of versification is happily adapted to such subjects. It has accordingly been adopted by all succeeding elegiac writers of any eminence; but particularly by Gray, in his celebrated *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, and by Shenstone in those excellent moral elegies, published after his death, which do so much honour both to his head and heart.

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